



**HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA'S RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY:
INAUGURATION AND INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY SPEECHES**

By

Frieda Nauyele Nanyeni

MA (English Studies) UNAM

B. Hons (English) NUST

Thesis presented for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Rhetoric Studies

Centre for Rhetoric Studies

Department of Private Law

Faculty of Law

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

December 2018

Supervisor: Distinguished Professor Philippe-Joseph Salazar

Department of Private Law, University of Cape Town

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

I, Frieda Nauyele Nanyeni, hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

I empower the university to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents any manner whatsoever.

Signature:

| |
|---------------------|
| Signed by candidate |
|---------------------|

Date: 11 December 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to a number of individuals who provided me with advice, support and love to complete this thesis. First and above all, my profound gratitude goes to the Almighty God who protected me, gave me courage and strength to complete this study. Thank you, Father God, for providing me with wisdom to gain knowledge and understanding of the subject matter.

The guidance, advice and constructive critiques of my doctoral supervisor, Distinguished Professor Salazar, helped me to gain a deep understanding of the important role rhetoric plays in political communication, and thus, has helped me to write and complete this thesis. Prof. Salazar allowed me to grow and think independently, a process that helped me to gain a deeper understanding of my research problem and be able to have a response to the question I wanted to answer as part of my contribution to academia. The financial support of the AW Mellon award that Prof Salazar recommended helped me fulfil financial obligation for my first year of study. I call this gesture a selfless characteristic of a true leader.

A special appreciation also goes to Professor Jairos Kangira, who introduced me to the study of rhetoric, a field that I now enjoy. I am gratefully acknowledging the volume of resource materials from Dr Audrin Mathe. His constant advice on academic discipline encouraged me to stay up until late writing my thesis. Another appreciation also goes to the University of Cape Town's Chancellor Oppenheimer Library staff members for their cooperation, especially when I had to negotiate the postponement of returning the books I had borrowed.

I also appreciate the words of assurance from one of my late father's high school classmates and a friend, Dr Naftal Hamata. Doctor, you never doubted my ability to pursue and complete a study of the highest degree after you had long witnessed the good academic performance of your classmate, as testified by your words. This challenged me to achieve more than my father could achieve academically.

To my mother, Victoria Shikomba, my heartfelt thanks for your consistent check-up on my wellbeing when I was studying, especially when I had travelled to Cape Town. Your role as both a mother and a father for more than thirty years played a significant role in my being able to work hard and complete this study. The role you played on behalf of my father assisted me to achieve what I could have achieved if I had the privilege of having my father, whom I only had for the first three years of my life. Mother, you continuously reminded me of the leadership roles my late father played, including his contribution to the struggle for Namibia's independence. This served as a challenge and encouraged me to study to earn a doctoral degree. To my siblings, Inekela, Lahja, Lovisa-Kauko, Emilia, Saima and Kakololo your social and emotional support kept me going throughout my years of schooling, what could have I done without you?

To my dear husband Johnny, for your love and for providing me with enough time and space to work on my thesis, and for picking me up when I felt defeated. Kuku-Joy, my daughter, your patience for not receiving enough of my attention allowed me to finish, and Iyaloo-Junior, my son, your arrival was a dream come true, although you made my study schedule a hectic one, I studied happily knowing that I have another blessing from God, my son.

Thank you all. May God bless you!

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to and in loving memory of my three siblings who, sadly, passed on within the shortest period of time, while I was carrying out this project. My elder sister, Anna-Selma sheeli my first teacher, my two brothers, Heskiel and Kristofa you have gone too soon when I least expected it. I may question why, but God knows better.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the first inauguration speech and the four Independence anniversary speeches delivered by the former second president of Namibia, Hifikepunye Pohamba. The five volumes of these speeches, which marked Pohamba's first term of office, plus audio-recordings of the highlights of the speeches on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation, were the primary data of the study. Pohamba's modern presidency, executed the laws through speeches, communicated directly to the Namibian people about what his Government have done, what it is attempting to do, and what they plan to do. In order to investigate how Hifikepunye Pohamba's rhetoric continued in shaping democracy in the post-apartheid Namibia, the argument of the analysis was based on the Aristotelian (2007) 'three regimes' of rhetoric as well as the three rhetorical proofs. On the historical background information, a context of the rhetorical situation was drawn from Bitzer (1968), and the rhetorical argument and application of Perelman (1984). Moreover, close contextual analysis was also employed as it seeks to analyse the relationship between the inner working of public discourse and its historical context in order to discover what makes a particular text function persuasively. Pohamba's speeches were analysed closely and rhetorically interpreted within their Namibian historical and political context. Thus, the study reveals the monumental occasions in the history of Namibian politics, among others, the symbolic rhetoric of the peaceful transfer of power from the founding President Sam Nujoma to the second president, who was also democratically elected, Hifikepunye Pohamba. Pohamba's rhetoric reflects his rhetorical performative. He demonstrated his democratic ethics to his audience in his rhetoric, and constantly referred to certain individuals who were respected by his audience. Thus, he continued shaping democracy in Namibia. Pohamba's rhetoric contains values of praising and blaming; he established fact and judgement about the past, and also

advised about the future. He emphasised on the policy of national reconciliation and confirmed that reconciliation had ushered in a new dispensation of political stability, peace, unity, ethnic cohesion and security in Namibia. Namibian people must therefore continue to shun the vices of tribalism, sexism and corruption, among other things.

Pohamba effectively used his rhetoric to communicate to the audience which is an important aspect of a democratic regime. This was observed internationally, which enabled Pohamba to put Namibia on the world map as he won MO Ibrahim award for African leadership at the end of his second term. However, the current study has focused only on the rhetoric of his first term.

KEY WORDS

Rhetoric, presidency, independence, argument, democracy, Pohamba, reconciliation, persuasion

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| ACC | - | Anti Corruption Commission |
| AIDS | - | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| AU | - | African Union |
| DTA | - | Democratic Turnhalle Alliance |
| FANRPAN | - | Food Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network |
| HIV | - | Human Immune Virus |
| ICJ | - | International Court of Justice |
| NBC | - | Namibia Broadcasting Corporation |
| NDP3 | - | National Development Plan Three |
| NEPAD | - | New Partnership for Africa Development |
| NGO | - | Non-Government Organization |
| NYS | - | National Youth Service |
| PLAN | - | People's Liberation Army of Namibia |
| PPP | - | Public-Private Partnership |
| REC | - | Regional Economic communities |
| SACU | - | Southern Africa Customs Union |
| SADC | - | Southern Africa Democratic Community |
| SWAPO | - | South West Africa People Organisation |
| UNTAG | - | United Nation Transition Assistance Group |
| UN | - | United Nation |

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-------------|
| DECLARATION | I |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | II |
| DEDICATION | IV |
| ABSTRACT..... | V |
| KEY WORDS..... | VII |
| LIST OF ABRREVIATIONS..... | VIII |
| LIST OF FIGURES | XII |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY | 1 |
| A POLITICAL HISTORY OF NAMIBIA | 3 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBA | 6 |
| POLITICAL ACTIVITIES | 7 |
| POSITIONS OCCUPIED | 9 |
| RESPONSIBILITIES AND HONOURS | 9 |
| LITERATURE SURVEY..... | 11 |
| PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC..... | 13 |
| RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY | 15 |
| MEANS OF PERSUASION AND THREE KINDS OF SPEECHES..... | 19 |
| THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY..... | 20 |
| RESEARCH QUESTIONS..... | 22 |
| SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY | 23 |
| LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY | 23 |
| METHODOLOGY | 24 |
| THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK..... | 27 |
| THESIS OUTLINE..... | 29 |
| CHAPTER ONE | 32 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBA’S INAUGURAL ADDRESS: | 32 |
| NAMIBIA’S 15TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY ON 21 MARCH 2005 IN WINDHOEK | 32 |
| 1.1 INTRODUCTION..... | 32 |
| 1.2 AUDIENCE | 35 |
| 1.3 IMPACT | 39 |
| 1.4 METHODS OF DELIVERY (<i>PRONUNCIATION AND ACTION</i>) IN POHAMBA’S SPEECH | 41 |
| 1.5 EXORDIUM | 47 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| 1.6 | COMMEMORATION OF THE NATION’S PAST | 49 |
| 1.7 | UNIFYING THE AUDIENCE | 51 |
| 1.8 | SPEAKING IN A COMMON LANGUAGE..... | 52 |
| 1.9 | REHEARSING TRADITIONAL VALUES | 54 |
| 1.10 | GENRES OF RHETORIC | 56 |
| 1.11 | CONCLUSION | 62 |
| CHAPTER TWO | | 65 |
| NAMIBIA’S 16 TH YEAR OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY: | | 65 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA’S INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS IN WINDHOEK | | 65 |
| 2.1 | INTRODUCTION | 65 |
| 2.2 | RHETORIC OF COMMEMORATION | 68 |
| 2.3 | RHETORIC OF RECONCILIATION..... | 70 |
| 2.4 | FEMINIST RHETORIC | 73 |
| 2.5 | RHETORIC OF UNITY AND HUMILITY | 76 |
| 2.6 | SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT | 80 |
| 2.7 | HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC..... | 84 |
| 2.8 | CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY | 88 |
| 2.9 | ECLECTIC RHETORIC | 95 |
| 2.10 | CONCLUSION..... | 102 |
| CHAPTER THREE | | 105 |
| REFLECTIONS ON NAMIBIA’S 17 YEARS INTO INDEPENDENCE : | | 105 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA’ S INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS IN SWAKOPMUND | | 105 |
| 3. 1 | INTRODUCTION | 105 |
| 3.2 | POHAMBAMBA’S DECLARATION OF THE PURPOSE OF HIS RHETORIC..... | 105 |
| 3.3 | FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN POHAMBAMBA’S RHETORIC | 110 |
| 3.4 | POHAMBAMBA’S RHETORIC OF DEMOCRACY | 114 |
| 3.5 | POHAMBAMBA’S RHETORIC OF NATION-BUILDING | 122 |
| 3.6 | IMPACT OF MAJOR DISEASES FACING THE NATION | 134 |
| 3.7 | CONCLUSION..... | 136 |
| CHAPTER 4..... | | 138 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA’S RHETORIC OF DEMOCRACY : | | 138 |
| NAMIBIA’S 18 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY IN WINDHOEK..... | | 138 |
| 4.1 | INTRODUCTION | 138 |
| 4.2 | A RHETORIC OF SILENCE | 139 |
| 4.3 | RHETORICAL TRADITION..... | 142 |
| 4.4 | VALUES OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY IN POHAMBAMBA’S RHETORIC | 145 |
| 4.5 | THE RHETORIC OF NATIONAL PRIDE | 149 |
| 4.6 | THE ARGUMENT ABOUT RATIONALITY, UNITY, NATIONHOOD AND PROGRESSIVE COOPERATION | 152 |
| 4.7 | THE RHETORICAL APPEALS TO EMOTIONS, EMPATHY AND FEAR | 157 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.8 POHAMBAMBA'S STYLISTIC VALUES | 160 |
| 4.9 POHAMBAMBA'S CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP | 165 |
| 4.10 CONCLUSION..... | 170 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 173 |
| HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA'S POLITICAL DELIBERATION :..... | 173 |
| NAMIBIA'S 19 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY IN WINDHOEK..... | 173 |
| 5.1 INTRODUCTION | 173 |
| 5.2 POHAMBAMBA'S LINES OF CONSENSUS | 174 |
| 5.3 ADDRESSING A HETEROGENEOUS AUDIENCE..... | 176 |
| 5.4 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY..... | 180 |
| 5.5 ORATION ON PUBLIC DELIBERATION ON THE NAMIBIAN CONSTRUCTION..... | 184 |
| 5.6 PERSUASION THROUGH COLLABORATIVE LANGUAGE | 186 |
| 5.7 RHETORIC ON THE ISSUES OF COMMONPLACE | 191 |
| 5.8 CAMPAIGN RHETORIC..... | 198 |
| 5.9 CONCLUSION..... | 204 |
| CONCLUSION | 206 |
| INTRODUCTION | 206 |
| OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS | 207 |
| RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES..... | 212 |
| REFERENCES..... | 214 |
| APPENDIX (IA 1.)..... | 224 |
| INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA..... | 224 |
| APPENDIX (IA 2.)..... | 231 |
| CELEBRATION OF THE 16 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2006, INDEPENDENCE STADIUM BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA..... | 231 |
| APPENDIX (IA 3.)..... | 235 |
| CELEBRATION OF THE 17 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2007, SWAKOPMUND | 235 |
| APPENDIX (IA 4.)..... | 239 |
| 18 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY AND INAUGURATION OF THE NEW STATE HOUSE 21 MARCH 2008, WINDHOEK..... | 239 |
| APPENDIX (IA 5.)..... | 244 |
| CELEBRATION OF THE 19 TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2009, KEETMANSHOOP | 244 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: Hifikepunye Pohamba's emblems..... | 44 |
| Figure 2: Hifikepunye Pohamba taking a ceremonial oath to be Namibia second President | 47 |

INTRODUCTION

“I move in the name of our people, to declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent!”

Sam Nujoma

Founding President of the Republic of Namibia

Inaugural speech, 21 March 1990

Background of the Study

Namibia, a country that was ravaged by apartheid for decades, is now instilling democratic and human rights values to its citizens, a sign of being an independent state which upholds the rule of law. The role rhetoric plays in fostering good governance is a sign of this, as it is through speeches that presidents lead their countries. This study concurs with Aristotle (2007) in his definition of rhetoric: “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion”¹. Since the president has little contact with those who need to be persuaded, therefore, speeches are a primary vehicle for persuasion, and as such, persuasion is a motive of most presidential speeches. Given the importance of the president’s words, one might be tempted to agree that presidential rhetoric is part and parcel of their governing process. This study focuses on analysing speeches of the second democratically elected Namibian president namely, Hifikepunye Pohamba. As a modern president, the Namibia president, through speeches, executes the laws, communicates with the Namibian people about what the government have done, what they are attempting to do, and what they plan to do.

After a long history of colonial rule, Namibia attained independence on 21 March 1990. This was done following the first democratic elections which took place in November 1989. Dr Sam

¹ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

Shafiishuna Nujoma was the first President of Namibia, in office for fifteen years, from 1990-2004. It is through Nujoma that the foundation of a democratic society in Namibia was laid. Nujoma's successor was President Hifikepunye Pohamba, who ruled Namibia for ten years between 2005 and 2015. This study is a rhetorical analysis of Pohamba's presidency during the first term of his Presidential rule from 21 March 2005 to 21 March 2010.

The study analyses how the rhetorical performance of Pohamba's presidency continued shaping Namibia's democracy. The focus of the study is on Pohamba's first inauguration and the four subsequent independence anniversary speeches.

The Namibian head of state is the president, elected by popular vote every five years. The founding president, Sam Nujoma, was in office for three terms from 21 March 1990 (Namibia's Independence Day) until 21 March 2005, and was followed by Hifikepunye Pohamba as the second president, who served from 2005 to 2015. Since 2015 Hage Geingob has been President of Namibia.

Before independence, Namibia was ruled by the South African Administrator-General. Louis Pienaar, who was appointed by the South African National Party in 1985 to be the "Administrator-General"² of what used to be called the "fifth province" (Namibia), hardly addressed people directly. People were less likely or never saw the Administrator-General addressing them at all. Unlike during the apartheid time, a new doctrine of presidential power, characterised by the rise of the mass media, the president is now appearing to the people, which is one of the features of modern presidential rhetoric, resulting after the country attained

² Gastrow, S. (1993). *Bowker-Saur. Who's who in South African Politics?* H. Zell. ISBN 9781873836064. Retrieved 05 June 2016.

independence. This is what is observed in Pohamba's presidency. From time to time President Pohamba has addressed the Namibian nation, starting from the beginning of his presidency. He delivered the inaugural speech, opened Parliament, and delivered the State of the Nation address. The media, with its role on striving to encourage ethics of hard work, honesty and integrity in the conduct of public affairs, is always there to cover the events where Pohamba delivers his speeches.

As asserted by Tulis (1987), in a "modern rhetorical presidency",³ where media are often the most important audience, the video recordings showing highlights of the speeches on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) Television were also used to analyse the rhetoric of delivery in the selected speeches.

Hifikepunye Pohamba's presidency was a bridging gap between the founding president Sam Nujoma and the current president Hage Geingob. Pohamba's style of political rule was more characterised by consensus building approach. His regular consultation with leaders of opposition parties that were represented in parliament is one of his unique example.

A Political History of Namibia

Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa (SWA), was colonised by Germany from 1884-1915. The League of Nations granted a "Class C Mandate"⁴ for South West Africa to merge with South Africa. South Africa established a constitution for Namibia that granted the administrative control to the white population. In 1946, the UN requested South Africa to conclude the trusteeship agreement and then incorporated SWA as fifth province. South Africa's

³ Tulis, J. (1987). *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁴ Ambassador, D. F (1990). *Nation Building: The U.N. and Namibia*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

mandate to rule Namibia is stipulated in the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and a mandate agreement by the League's Council. In 1949 South Africa gave whites in Namibia direct representation in the South African parliament.

However, in 1950 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that South Africa had no obligation to conclude a trusteeship agreement but held that the mandate remain in effect. In 1960 South West Africa Organisation (SWAPO) was formed and the UN General Assembly revoked South Africa's mandate. In 1966 SWAPO began the armed struggle with guerrilla attacks in Namibia, infiltrating the territory from Zambia (Nujoma, 2001).⁵

In 1968 the General Assembly adopted "Namibia" as the territory's name. The Security Council Resolutions 264 and 269 recognised revocation of the mandate and in 1971 the International Court of Justice upheld the General Assembly's revocation of the mandate and declared that South Africa was obliged to withdraw from the territory. In 1971 the General Assembly granted observer status to SWAPO, followed by the Security Council adopting Resolution 385 which called for elections under UN supervision and control in 1976. The General Assembly recognised SWAPO as "sole and authentic" representative of the Namibian people.⁶

In 1977 South Africa announced the end of SWA representation in the South Africa parliament and the appointment of an Administrator-General to administer affairs in Namibia. In the same year, the General Assembly declared South Africa's annexation of Walvis Bay illegal and a violation of the UN Charter and Declaration on decolonisation. The Security Council Resolution

⁵ Nujoma, S. (2001). *Where others wavered*. London: Panaf.

⁶ SWAPO. 1981. *To Be Born a Nation: The liberation struggle for Namibia*. London: Zed Press.

431 created the office of the Special Representative for Namibia and resolution 432 mandated that Walvis Bay be integrated into Namibia. The Secretary-General immediately appointed Martti Ahtisaari as a special representative. In September 1978, the Security Council passed Resolution 435 adopting the settlement plan and establishing UNTAG. The Security Council Resolutions 682 and 629 set 1 April 1989 as implementation date for Resolution 435 and the registration of political organisations, Proclamation AG 43, enacted in September. The code of conduct was signed by nine political parties and Anton Lubowski, who was assassinated on 12 September 1989. Sam Nujoma returned to Namibia on 14 September 1989 and voter registration was completed on September 23. The free and fair elections began on 7 November and balloting was completed on 11 November. The results of the election were announced on 14 November and the Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 21 November.⁷ SWAPO won with 57 per cent of the vote, short of the two-thirds necessary to have a free hand in drafting the Constitution. A constitution was adopted in February 1990, and Namibia became independent on 21 March 1990. Sam Nujoma was elected as Namibia's first President.⁸

Namibia had been having good international relations with other countries including world superpower countries such as United State, Russia, China, France, Italy, United Kingdom and Canada. Its relation with United State is characterised by shared democratic values. It is worth noting that the United States advocated a resolution of the Namibian problem by peaceful means and supported practical efforts to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination and independence on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

⁷ Ambassador, D. F (1990). *Nation Building: The U.N. and Namibia*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

⁸ Mathe, A.I. (2006). *Canons of Classical Rhetoric in Sam Nujoma's State of the Nation Addresses (11) (Mini-dissertation)*. University Of Free State, South Africa, Pretoria.

At midnight on 21 March 1990, Sam Nujoma stated that "In the name of our people, I declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent".⁹ These words marked the permanent end of apartheid in Namibia, the victory of the SWAPO party as it resulted in the year-long transition to independence. This process was supervised each step of the way by the United Nations, finally representing the culmination of the struggle for national dignity and independence of many generations of Namibians. Nujoma won Namibia's first democratic election for a constituent assembly. He was then elected to be the first president of the Republic of Namibia. Hifikepunye Pohamba was elected as the second Namibian president fifteen years later, after his predecessor Sam Nujoma, the founding president, elected him as SWAPO's candidate.

The study provides this historical context in order for readers to understand the rhetorical situation. This serves as the background of the situation since rhetorical perspective not only directs the attention of the investigation, but also expresses the understanding of social reality. This is also the circumstance surrounding "rhetorical situation" (Bitzer, 1968).¹⁰

This section leads to the next section, that of investigating Hifikepunye Pohamba's speeches, whose rhetorical presidency is the concern of this study.

Hifikepunye Pohamba

Before approaching the actual analysis of President Hifikepunye Pohamba's speeches, it would be important to highlight briefly who Hifikepunye Pohamba is in order to place his character in context.

⁹ Nujoma, S. (2001). *Where Others Wavered*. London: Panaf.

¹⁰ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1(1), 1-104.

Hifikepunye Pohamba was the second President of Namibia who ruled the country for ten years from 21 March 2005 to 21 March 2015. Pohamba was born on 18 August 1935 in Okanghudi village, in Oshikango Constituency of Ohangwena region. He grew up with his parents, assisting with general farm work including cultivation of land and looking after his family's livestock. He attended Holy Cross Mission School at Onamunama from 1947 to 1953. He obtained a diploma in political science from the International School of Political Science in Moscow in 1981.¹¹

Political Activities

Hifikepunye Pohamba was one of the founding members of the SWAPO Party and was a Political Mobiliser in 1960. He was arrested, chained for several days, and flogged publicly at Ohangwena Traditional Court due to his political activism. In the following year, he left Namibia for Tanganyika (the present Tanzania). On his return to Namibia from Tanganyika he was again arrested and imprisoned for five months, and thereafter was placed under house arrest in Okanghudi village. Pohamba left Namibia for Tanganyika in the same year, 1962, and in the following year, he returned to Namibia and operated underground as a SWAPO Mobiliser.

In 1964 Pohamba left Namibia for the second time for Tanzania to participate in the organisation of the national liberation struggle. He returned to Namibia from Zambia together with Comrade

¹¹ <http://www.pohambafoundation.com/HE's%20Biography2.pdf>. (Accessed 05 June 2016).

Sam Shafiishuna Nujoma to challenge the South African Colonial Administration in 1966. They were subsequently detained and deported the following day to Zambia.¹²

In 1970 Pohamba was elected as a member of the Central Committee and Deputy Administrative Secretary of SWAPO at the SWAPO Consultative Congress held at Tanga, Tanzania. He was further elected as a member of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and as Secretary for finance at the SWAPO Consultative Congress held at Namundwe, Zambia in 1977. In 1983 he was re-elected to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, and Secretary for Finance at the Enlarged SWAPO Central Committee at the meeting held at Kwanza-Sul, Angola.¹³

In 1991, Pohamba was re-elected to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and as Secretary for Finance at the first Congress of SWAPO held in an independent Namibia. In 1997 he was elected as Secretary-General of SWAPO at the 2nd SWAPO Party Congress held in Windhoek.¹⁴

Pohamba was elected as Vice-President of the SWAPO party at its 3rd Congress held in Windhoek in 2002, and in 2004 he was nominated as the SWAPO Party Presidential Candidate at the SWAPO Party Extra-Ordinary Congress held in Windhoek. In 2004 Pohamba was elected as the President of the Republic of Namibia and in 2005, he was sworn in as the Second President of the Republic of Namibia on 21 March 2005.¹⁵

¹² <http://www.pohambafoundation.com/HE's%20Biography2.pdf>. (Accessed 05 June 2016).

¹³ *ibid*, 12.

¹⁴ *ibid*, 12.

¹⁵ *ibid*, 12.

Positions Occupied

Towards the country's independence in 1989 Pohamba held the position of the Head of Administration, for SWAPO Elections Directorate in Windhoek, Namibia. He was also elected as a Member of the Constituent Assembly which drafted the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. In 1990 he became a member of the National Assembly (Parliament) of the Republic of Namibia and from 1990 to 1995 he served as the first Minister of Home Affairs, Republic of Namibia.¹⁶

In 1996 to 1998, he served as the Minister of Fisheries and Marine Resources and in 1999 to 2000 as Minister without Portfolio in the office of the President of the Republic of Namibia. In 2001 to 2005 Pohamba served as Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation.

Responsibilities and Honours

In the period 1977 to 1989, Hifikepunye Pohamba was responsible for the management of all finances of SWAPO, including the management of all donor assistance to SWAPO, its settlements and projects in exile and in Namibia.¹⁷

In 1983 to 1984 he was assigned the responsibility of designing a framework for the establishment of a future Bank of Namibia with the assistance of the Government of Sweden, including the recruitment of its first Governor and the design of the future fiscal and monetary policies for the independent Namibia. Pohamba co-authored various SWAPO Party policy papers

¹⁶ *ibid*, 12.

¹⁷ *ibid*, 12.

and publications, including the guide, "Implementation of SWAPO Party Election Manifesto in November 2000".¹⁸

In 2005 he was a recipient of Namibia's highest award, the Most Ancient Order of the Welwitschia Mirabilis, and in 2010 of the 2010 Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network (FANRPAN) Food Security Policy. In 2011 Pohamba was awarded an honorary degree: Doctor of Philosophy (honoris causa) by the University of Namibia.¹⁹

At the end of his tenure, Pohamba's democratic leadership was recognised internationally. He won the 2014 Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership. The Ibrahim prize was established in 2007. Its purpose is to recognise and celebrate African leaders who respect democracy and its principles by leaving the office at the end of their term with respect for human rights and freedom of the press. In addition, during their tenure in office, these leaders have developed their countries by lifting people out of poverty and paved the way for sustainable and equitable prosperity, to mention but a few. This is what was demonstrated by Pohamba's governance.²⁰

His reputation in political activities, position occupied, responsibilities and honour, as discussed above, enabled President Pohamba's ethos being easily established by his audiences before any words in his speech were spoken. More on his ethos and other elements analysed will be found in the analysis of his five different speeches of this study. Therefore, the use of "ethos is readily

¹⁸ *ibid*, 12.

¹⁹ *ibid*, 12.

²⁰ *ibid*, 12.

identified in the rhetor's efforts to prove his trustworthiness" (Lim, 2002)²¹ is deemed appropriate.

Literature survey

This section examines different areas of scholarly research conducted in the discipline of presidential rhetoric. The section spells out what rhetoric is and provides some background information about presidential rhetoric (the core of the study) and its significance, as well as views of different scholars. Presidential rhetoric encompasses both "presidential rhetoric and rhetorical presidency" (Stuckey, 2010).²² Medhurst (1996) asserts that rhetorical presidency investigates the characteristics of the office of the president, while presidential rhetoric explores the thematic and stylistic choices of presidential communication. This study incorporates elements of both of these two areas as the political communication that unravels political science. It is worth acknowledging here that while political scientists are concerned with the "underlying doctrines of government" rather than the content of the speeches, communication scholars are concerned with the "study of political language" and the principles and practice of rhetoric. Similarly, the study done by Zarefsky (2002) analyses "presidential rhetoric" by incorporating elements of both political science and political communication.²³

The scholars consulted whose works focus on the rhetorical presidency include Windt (1984), Tulis (1987), Campbell and Jamieson (2010), and Stuckey (2010), while those focusing on presidential rhetoric include Salazar (2002), Zarefsky (2004) and Stuckey (2010).

²¹ Lim, E. T. (2002). Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32(10) 328-348.

²² Stuckey, M. E. (2006). Establishing the rhetorical presidency through presidential rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt and the Brownsville Raid. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 92(1), 287-309.

²³ Zarefsky, D. (2004). Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34(3), 607-619.

Moreover, most of the various publications of useful and enriching materials consulted are from the *Quarterly Journal of Speech, Rhetoric and Public affairs, Rhetoric Society Quarterly, African Yearbook of Rhetoric, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Philosophy & Rhetoric*, and *American Journal of Political Science*.

The book written by Ambassador (1990) on *Nation Building: The U.N. and Namibia*, and the one written by Nujoma's (2001) *Where Others Wavered* provided this study with valuable information about Namibian political history, while Aristotle (2007) *On Rhetoric A theory of civic discourse Rhetoric*: provided great insight into the theory and concept of rhetoric. A study by Mathe (2006) provided information about the background of the Namibian presidential rhetoric. Jones (2010) as well as Campbell and Jamieson (1990) benefit the study with information on traditions of presidential rhetoric in the inaugural address. Studies by Tulis (1987) as well as Denton and Lim (2002) are worth noting on the concept of the presidency as an institution. Salazar (2002) provided information on the reshaping of a nation into democracy through rhetorical means (the South African perspective), Perelman (1984) with rhetorical argument and application, and Bitzer (1968) with information about rhetorical situation.

Since the study is from a rhetorical perspective, in order to facilitate the reader's entry into the argument the researcher is making, it is vital to spell out what is meant by rhetoric.

Another definition of rhetoric which is favourable to this study is given by Perelman et al. (1984) who assert that rhetoric is the theory and practice of persuasive communication, the art of

speaking well or writing persuasively. Furthermore, rhetoric is the study of discursive techniques functioning to provoke or increase the support of minds to that which one presents for approval, therefore rhetoric's role is central in politics. Moreover, rhetoric is the art or the discipline that deals with the use of discourse, either spoken or written to inform or persuade or motivate an audience, regardless of the number of people the audience is made up of.²⁴ Similar to the definition given by Perelman et al. Aristotle (2007) asserts that rhetoric is "the ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion."²⁵ He described three main types of rhetoric: Ethos, Logos, and Pathos. Persuasions are either in the character of the speaker (ethos), or in the emotional state of the hearer (pathos), or in the argument (logos).

Furthermore, Aristotle adds that the persuasion is accomplished by character whenever the speech is held in such a way as to render the speaker worthy of credence. If the speaker appears to be credible, the audience will form the second-order judgment that propositions put forward by the credible speaker are true or acceptable. This is especially important in cases where there is no exact knowledge but room for doubt. Hifikepunye Pohamba's ethos puts him in the right position to be credible to the audience. In other words, a president of the country who is a virtuous character is in a position that enables the audience to consider his speeches.

Presidential Rhetoric

The discipline of presidential rhetoric is concerned with the study of presidential public persuasion as it affects the ability of a president to exercise the powers of the office. It is a study

²⁴ Perelman, C. & Winchesteer, J., & Verene, M.B. (1984). Rhetoric and Politics, *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 17 (3), 129-134.

²⁵ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by G. Kennedy, New York: Oxford.

of “how the president maintains, gains or loses public support (Windt, 1984)²⁶, whilst “rhetorical presidency” concerns the subject of the presidency as an institution. In this definition it is worth noting that almost all presidents are rhetorical. They all appear to exercise their office through the medium of language written and spoken. Their exercising of power may be expressed in words through orders and commands. As an institution, rhetoric is at the heart of political ideology (Medhurst, 1984).²⁷ Rhetorically perspective, speaking and governance are one. According to Windt (1986), the discipline of presidential rhetoric focuses on persuasion techniques that presidents use in their speeches, as this is an important factor in the success of a president in exercising his/her power.²⁸ That means the different exigencies the speech responds to, and the different functions it performs, make up the presidential speeches.

Salazar (2002) writes on the reshaping of a nation into democracy through rhetorical means. The analysis of how presidential rhetoric and its position in a deliberative democracy took shape in the South African context is one of his focus areas. With that, Salazar unravels how public deliberation and the rise of postmodern rhetorical democracy was observed in South Africa at the end of the apartheid regime. Transfer of power began with De Klerk to Mandela. Similarly, Namibia had just been freed from the yoke of colonialism when it gained its independence from the white apartheid government which had colonised the country for a long period of time. This marked the transition to democratic regimes. This study considers the flourishing of democracy in Namibia after the country attained its independence as it is characterised by the transformational leadership and participatory democracy. Therefore, Namibia can well be

²⁶ Windt, T. (1986). Presidential Rhetoric: Definition of a Field of Study. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 6(1), 102-116.

²⁷ Medhurst, M. J. (Ed.). (1996). *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*. Texas A & M University, Department of Rhetoric and Communication.

²⁸ Windt, T. *ibid*, 26.

described as an African Athens. It is against this background that the rhetorical analysis in this research is largely drawn from Salazar (2002).²⁹

Rhetorical Presidency

Tulis's study on the rhetorical presidency began in 1981. Together with other scholars such as Ceaser, Thurrow, and Bessete, they wrote on rhetorical presidency. Tulis continued the study individually in 1987. In both works, the central claim lies in the fact that, prior to the twentieth century, presidency was less reliant on oratory. However, the twentieth century witnessed an increase in the use of oral rhetoric.

In his view of the American presidency, Tulis (1987) asserts that rhetorical presidency is a way of examining a change in the office of the president, a change that suggests different communication patterns for presidents. Tulis (1987) further argues that presidential rhetoric has three different stages: the 'old way', the 'middle way' and the 'new way'. In the Old Way (1789-1900), most of the presidential rhetoric was delivered in writing only. In the Middle Way (1900-1913) the president appealed directly to people. The New Way (1913 to date) refers to the way strategies are used by the contemporary presidents. The 'new way' of leadership is marked by the early years of the twentieth century categorising presidential rhetoric into what is termed "modern rhetorical presidency" Tulis (1987) concludes that while all nineteenth-century

²⁹ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

communication was written, the twentieth century is characterised by oral speeches. This distinguishes between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ presidency.³⁰

Tulis’ ‘old way’ and ‘middle way’ had never existed in Namibia as the Namibian presidency began at the beginning of the post-colonial regime when it has changed to democratic governance. Sam Nujoma was the first president and with the peaceful transfer of power, Pohamba continued the presidency of the democratic regime in Tulis’ paradigm of modern rhetorical presidency (the new way).

Furthermore, Pohamba’s governance was a modern rhetorical presidency as he spoke directly to the public. Communicating with the public was his way of gaining support for policy initiatives in his presidency. Therefore, the analysis of Hifikepunye Pohamba’s rhetorical presidency in the current study is more based on the persuasion of his words as a politician who governed the country, since the “governance of the presidency is through their speeches” (Windt 1986).³¹

The presidency is an institution where rhetoric plays a major role. Through speeches, a president leads a country and seeks to persuade the nation as a whole. Presidential power is the power to persuade. The rhetorical style of a presidential speech reflects the political aims and their possible successes. This is the idea presented by Denton and Hahn (1986, p. 10) in describing “the presidency as a rhetorical and persuasive institution that ‘constitutes social action, provides a context for collective action, and contributes to the oral history and definition of the nation’”.³²

³⁰ Tulis, J. (1987). *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³¹ Windt, T. (1986). Presidential Rhetoric: Definition of a Field of Study. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 6(1), 102-116

³² Denton, R.E. Jr. and Hahn, Dan F. (1986) *Presidential Communication*. New York: Praeger

Moreover, Denton and Hahn (1986) discuss the discipline of presidential rhetoric as a source of power to define, justify, legitimise, persuade, and inspire. Such political language aims at mobilising society and stimulating social action. As head of state, the president is the chief policy maker of the government and articulates the government directives, policies and regulations through his/her speeches., Thus whatever he/she says or does, can have a positive or negative impact on the nation.

Moreover, Denton and Hahn (1968) concur with Ceaser et al. (1983) and Tulis (1987) that modern presidential speeches addressed directly to the people become commonplace. Excellent use of presidential rhetoric is seen to be effective and for presidents who use ideographs in their rhetoric, although they are not rhetoricians, their proper use of discourse in their speeches can make them to be seen as charismatic leaders.

Moreover, Ellis (1998, p. 1) asserts that prior to the late nineteenth century, presidents “were to be seen and not heard”. Furthermore, Ryan (2003) emphasises the importance of recognising the great change as it contributed to the rise of the rhetorical presidency. Most popular presidents have the ability to speak well and have a particular charisma (Ryan, 2003, p.2). Modern presidents use their rhetorical opportunities for many different purposes. After all, a president who wishes to lead a nation rather than only the executive branch must be a loquacious president. Against this background, Ryan (2003) concludes that speeches are the core of modern presidency.³³

³³ Ryan, L. T (2003). Evolution of the Modern Rhetorical Presidency: Presidential Presentation and Development of the State of the Union Address, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33 (2) 333-346.

As stated earlier, President Pohamba's speeches were presented during the ceremonial occasions, namely, the inaugural and the independence anniversaries. Singelman (1996) explains that the inauguration speech is one of the first speeches a president will make in front of his or her nation as a president. For this reason, an inauguration speech usually uses the occasion to commemorate the nation's past, to envision its future, and to try to set the tone for the next four years.³⁴ Bitzer (1968) argues that "it is the situation which calls the discourse into existence".³⁵ This view affirms that rhetoric is constructed in response to and within the context of a particular "rhetorical situation".

In the case of this study, the exigent circumstance is President Pohamba's ceremonial speeches as it is one of his obligations, according to the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. Therefore, that is what serves as the engine that drives that rhetorical action. Moreover, independence inaugurations and anniversaries created opportunities for President Pohamba to deliver these speeches.

Since these types of speeches are ceremonial speeches that entail praise of values and instance of blame, the study places Pohamba's speeches under epideictic rhetoric. "Epideixis encompasses the type of ceremonial public speaking where audience attention is focused primarily on the ornamental and aesthetic content of the speaker's entire performance (the display function), rather than on the actual verbal content of the speech" (Slavicková, 2013, p. 362).³⁶ Furthermore, in an analysis of Nelson Mandela's address, Salazar (2002) states that through praise of value

³⁴ Sigelman, L. (1996). Presidential Inaugurals: The Modernization of a Genre. *Political Communication*, 13(1), 81-92.

³⁵ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1(1), 1-104.

³⁶ Slavicková T. (2013) The Rhetoric of Remembrance: Presidential Memorial Day speeches. *Discourse & Society*, 24(3) 361-379.

which is a sign of epideictic rhetoric in a speech, the speech would then become an indirect celebration of what presidential rhetoric can achieve as it would be self-referential.

Means of persuasion and three kinds of speeches

On the role of the emotional (pathos) state of the audiences, Aristotle (2007) asserts that the success of the persuasive efforts depends on the emotional dispositions of the audience, for we do not judge in the same way when we grieve or rejoice or when we are friendly or hostile. Thus, the orator has to arouse emotions exactly because emotions have the power to modify judgments: to a judge who is in a friendly mood, the person about whom he is going to judge seems not to do wrong or only in a small way; but to the judge who is in an angry mood, the same person will seem to do the opposite.³⁷

Lastly, a speaker persuades with the argument (logos) when demonstrating that something is the case. Inductions and deductions are the two species of arguments described by Aristotle. Induction is defined as the proceeding from particulars up to a universal, while deduction is an argument in which certain things having been supposed, something different from the suppositions results of necessity through them or because of their being true.³⁸

Sullivan (1993) asserts that the rhetor's ethos must consist of five essential characteristics: the rhetor's reputation, the rhetor's vision, the rhetor's authority, the rhetor's presentation of good reasons, and the rhetor's creation of consubstantiality with the audience.³⁹

³⁷ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³⁸ Aristotle. (2007). *ibid*, 37.

³⁹ Sullivan, D. (1993). The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 26(2), 113-133.

Furthermore, Aristotle (2007) asserts that there are three different types of rhetoric: deliberative (political oratory always concerned about the future), forensic (sometimes referred to as legal or judicial oratory, concerned with the past) and epideictic (demonstrative, declamatory, panegerical or ceremonial oratory concerned primarily with the present).

Similar to Aristotle, Salazar (2003) states that public speech is either forensic, deliberative or epideictic. While forensic rhetoric deals with a case, something which, as in a court of law, is subject to a contention of evidences regarding its cause, deliberative rhetoric is future-oriented, which means a decision must be taken in response to a problem that engages the future of the community, and arguments are exchanged. Finally, epideictic rhetoric deals with values. It extols what makes a social link, a community, a polity stand together ritualistically or at the very least ceremonially or festively. Thus, as concluded by Salazar (2003), about the finality of each genre,⁴⁰ Pohamba's speeches purport to establish justice; they also aim at expediency, as well as reinforcing values. Therefore, they fall under all three kinds of rhetoric.

The focus of the study

The focus of this study is on inaugural and independence anniversary speeches. These are the speeches which constitute the most significant instances of presidential rhetoric from which one can reliably infer a macroscopic story (Lim 2002).⁴¹ President Pohamba used the most important speeches of his presidency to outline his perspective on issues of commonplaces such as nation-

⁴⁰ Salazar, PH- J. (2003). *"The Joint Sitting of Parliament, 15 April 2003. A Rhetorical View of the Reparations Debate"*, in E. Doxtader and Ch Villa-Vicencio, *the Irreparable To Repair. Repairs and Reconstruction in South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2004 (in press).

⁴¹ Lim, E. T. (2002). Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32(10) 328-348.

building and reconciliation. These enable him to uphold, protect and defend the Constitution as it is one of his obligations according to the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (Article 32).⁴²

Based on this significant point, the researcher realised the need for deeper understanding of the techniques used by President Hifikepunye Pohamba when delivering his speeches, in order for the nation to judge correctly the importance of what he said.

The study engages more rhetoric of ceremony and commemoration, among others, as Pohamba's speeches came as a result of those ceremonial events; therefore, they fall under epideictic rhetoric. Aristotle (1994), describes the epideictic speeches as the present-oriented, which can be acclaiming or condemning.⁴³ Moreover, to some extent President Pohamba's oration also falls under deliberative rhetoric, as it is stated by Aristotle that deliberative discourse advises about the future; thus political discourse and debate fall into this category. However, there is very little evidence of forensic rhetoric in the speeches, since forensic rhetoric focuses on the orientation towards the past which may be accusing or defence, and Pohamba tried to avoid sensitive topics of the past. Moreover, Pohamba's eloquence takes a stance on democratic leadership as it employs elements of both consensus decision-making and majority rule. This is a sign of exercising democracy in the country. Salazar (2002) asserts that "democratic deliberations"⁴⁴ have been the subject of intense and fundamental debates among rhetoricians.

⁴² *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (2nd ed)*(2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.

⁴³ Aristotle, (1994). *Rhetoric*, W. R. Roberts, trans www.bocc.ubi.pt. (Accessed 01 September 2015).

⁴⁴ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Research Questions

Hifikepunye Pohamba was sworn in as the country's second democratically elected president. It is the current researcher's observation that President Pohamba provided leadership through his speeches. Therefore, the study analyses how Pohamba's governance continued to shape democracy of post-apartheid Namibian government. Furthermore, the study specifically analyses how Pohamba's oratory were mainly aimed at promoting reconciliation, nation building, driving economic emancipation of all Namibians, the country's economic sustainability and deepening of national unity and tribal harmony. Thus, the study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How effective were President Pohamba' speeches in terms of the structure of the text/different parts of oration?
2. How clear was the President's language style – was it appropriate to his audience and the situation?
3. Was there any correlation between the verbal and non-verbal communication in terms of gestures, text and images in President Pohamba's speeches?

Moreover, since the study is from a rhetorical perspective, the researcher also attempted to provide answers to the three rhetorical general basic questions such as, if the argument is persuasive, the reasons why the argument is or is not persuasive and the evidence of how the speaker appeals to and connects with his audience.

Significance of the study

The study of presidential rhetorical analysis in Namibia is very thin. Currently, the few related works done in the field of rhetoric have only been those by Mathe (2009), from the University of Cape Town, Mathe (2006), from the University of the Free State, Kangira and Mungenga (2012) from the University of Namibia, and Nanyeni (2014), from the University of Namibia. Therefore, this study attempts to contribute in its own way to the body of knowledge of presidential rhetoric in Namibia by analysing how Pohamba's rhetoric formulated democratic governance. Salazar (2002, p. 19) stresses that "a speech never comes alone"⁴⁵, therefore the rhetorical analysis shows how Presidential utterances are important tools for his leadership. Furthermore, some techniques that are used in this presidential rhetorical analysis might be useful to speech writers and rhetoric scholars who may have access to this study.

Limitations of the study

The absence of Hansard transcripts (of parliamentary debates) of the focused speeches limits the study. However, the tape-video records and printed copies of presidential speeches helped to provide the details analysis of the speeches. In terms of Namibian presidency, inauguration and the anniversary speeches are delivered at the Independence stadium or at any other open venue outside the Parliament therefore, these speeches are not recorded by Hansard in the Namibian parliament. There are also no debates following the delivery of these types of speeches. All the minutes of the proceedings that are recorded and filed are only those of the events that take place inside the parliament, for example, when the president opens the session of the parliament and when he delivers the State of the Nation Address. The State of the Nation Address is a

⁴⁵Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

constitutional obligation where the president addresses the nation through a joint session of parliament and reviews past policies and clearly spells out government's focus for the next year. It is only with State of the Nation Address that the President responds to questions after presenting the speeches.

Article 32 (2) of the Namibian Constitution states that:⁴⁶

The President must attend Parliament during the consideration of the National Budget. At this occasion, the President must also address Parliament on the State of the Nation and on the future policies of the government. He/she also reports on the policies of the previous year and is available to respond to questions. This is one way the President exercises his power through rhetorical means.

Methodology

Five speeches delivered by President Pohamba were analysed based on the theory of Aristotelian rhetoric. The study is a desktop analysis which does not involve any field trip since the information to be analysed was already available. The qualitative approach is employed to analyse the content of President Pohamba's speeches. Textual and documentary sources to assess President Pohamba's speeches were also used. These literary sources include the internet, journals and other related research papers. Since the speeches are published documents which were created for large audiences, the above-mentioned sources are the primary sources of this study.

⁴⁶ *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (2nd ed)* (2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.

The first term of presidency specifically the first inauguration speech shows how the president set the tone for the next four years of his presidency. Thus, the researcher's sampling focuses on Pohamba's first inaugural and independence speeches of his first term, as they are among others, the most important speeches of his presidency

The researcher assumes that among other speeches the President delivered, inaugural and independence addresss speeches are the most important speeches of his presidency. The researcher accessed the book of presidential statements from the Namibian Parliamentary library and the tape-video showing the President delivering the focused speeches from the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC 2005-2010).⁴⁷ This is where the content of different speeches that are analysed in the study was found.

Inauguration and independence speeches are delivered in an open space such as Independence stadium, and usually attended by large crowd of people to which the President speaks to. Unlike other types of addresses done by the President such as State of the Nation, which is done in the parliament although it is open to all members of public, there is a limited space. It is well noted that presidential speeches are always covered by media, but it is equally worth noting that, not majority of Namibian people have access to media.

The inauguration and independence anniversary speeches were delivered at the Independence stadium in Windhoek. The researcher describes those selected speeches as follows:

⁴⁷ NBC (prod.). 2005. *President Hifikepunye Pohamba's Inaugural address*. [Video recording]. Windhoek NBC.

- The inauguration speech which was delivered during the 15th independence anniversary celebrations on 21 March 2005 at the Independence Stadium: Pohamba's inaugural address comprises three and a half pages. This was the speech of acceptance of the President's new office.
- The 16th independence anniversary speech delivered on 21 March 2006 at the Independence stadium: it consists of two pages. This was Pohamba's second year of his tenure.
- The 17th independence celebration speech on 21 March 2007: President Pohamba delivered a two-page speech.
- The 19th independence anniversary, a speech of three pages, was delivered on 21 March 2008.
- The last independence anniversary speech of President Pohamba's first term in office was on 21 March 2009, which marked the 19th independence anniversary. It comprises three pages.

Furthermore, the researcher also collected copies of video recordings⁴⁸ of President Pohamba delivering the speeches from NBC Television for clarity on the analysis of the rhetoric of delivery.

The study analyses five of President Pohamba's speeches that are described above. The speeches are coded as Appendices and each paragraph of the speeches is numbered. This is to help readers to identify where in the speech certain comments and analysis are referred to.

⁴⁸ nbc (prod.). 2005. *ibid*, 47.

It is arguably that analysis of five speeches instead of ten or more would provide a detailed rhetorical analysis to the study.

The researcher uses video recordings showing highlights of those speeches on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation television. The videos help in the analysis of rhetoric of delivery. Delivery is regarded as one of the most important elements of the speeches in rhetoric. According to Foss (1996, p. 31) “delivery is concerned with the speaker’s manner of presentation”.⁴⁹ The researcher focuses on the use of gestures, voice and physical movements of President Pohamba when he delivered the speeches.

Furthermore, the five speeches selected for this study were analysed to show how President Pohamba continued to shape democracy of post-apartheid Namibian government. Finally, an analysis also shows how these speeches were used to solicit the support of the nation for Pohamba’s presidency as well as to promote national reconciliation.

Theoretical Framework

The framework of this study follows theories adopted by Aristotle (2007) on the three rhetorical appeals (pathos, ethos and logos), and three genres of rhetoric: epideictic, deliberative and forensic. The study refers to Bitzer (1968) on the rhetorical situation and its three components (exigence, audience and constraints), and Perelman (1984) on the rhetorical argument and application. Finally, the close textual analysis was also determined to be best suited for the

⁴⁹ Foss, S.K. (1996). *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*. (2nd Ed.) Prospect Heights, Waveland.

current study. Close-textual analysis is a uniquely suited methodology to analyse both the context and content of President Pohamba's post-colonial speeches. Burgchardt (2000, p. 545) states that "Close textual analysis seeks to study the relationship between the inner workings of public discourse and its historical context in order to discover what makes a particular text function persuasively"⁵⁰.

With close textual analysis, Pohamba's speeches were analysed closely and rhetorically interpreted within their perspective of Namibian historical and political contexts. Burgchardt (2000, p. 545) further asserts that "traditional rhetorical criticism is too narrowly focused, and uninformative about how discourse actually persuades".⁵¹ Based on that argument, he emphasises the need for special attention to the arrangement of ideas at the sentence, phrase and word level that will yield up to their own rhetorical interpretation and recognise the rhetorical action in the text. This is what close textual analysis entails.

It is against this background that the researcher of this study incorporates these theories, as they intersect and conjoin with Pohamba's first inaugural and four independence anniversaries speeches because of its emphasis on how a speech works rhetorically and how a speech persuades.

⁵⁰ Burgchardt, C. R. (2000). *Readings in Rhetorical Criticism* (2nd ed.). State College, PA: Strata Pub.

⁵¹ Burgchardt, C. R. (2000), *ibid.* 50.

Thesis Outline

The thesis begins with this general introduction chapter, followed by five chapters centred on Pohamba's first term of his presidency, from 2005 to 2009. This introduction chapter provides the background of the study, beginning with the historical context of Namibian politics including the biography of Hifikepunye Pohamba. Furthermore, it establishes the research problem, draws on the significance of the study and outlining the limitation. Moreover, it surveys the literature conducted by highlighting some background information about presidential rhetoric, rhetorical presidency and its significance. The general introduction overviews the description of the content analytic method used to conduct the study and created the theoretical framework. Finally, the conceptual definitions of the key variables of this study were also provided.

In executing his constitutional mandate of the Republic of Namibia, Hifikepunye Pohamba, the second democratically elected Namibian President, delivered statements during his term of office. The statements he made on the inauguration and independence anniversaries of his first term of office are the focus of this study. Written in a spirit of democracy toward the seceded states, Hifikepunye Pohamba speeches touched on wide spectrum of topics ranging from tackling corruption, promotion of economic development and reconciliation, strengthening democracy, the maintenance of peace and stability, the protection of the territorial integrity of Namibia, and the promotion of international peace and security.

The first chapter of this study focuses on the inauguration speech. The study looks at how Pohamba commemorated the nation's past, envisioned its future, and set the tone for the next four years of his presidency. The rhetoric of one of the important situations in the democratic

process of the Namibia history, the first peaceful transfer of power, from the first President Sam Nujoma to the second president Hifikepunye Pohamba, is closely analysed.

The second chapter focuses on Pohamba's first anniversary speech. The study analyses how Pohamba's rhetoric condemned corruption and other social evils which hamper the goals and objectives of the government. The chapter was analysed under the titled "Namibia's 16th year of Constitutional Democracy".

The third chapter focuses on President Pohamba's second independence anniversary speech. The study analyses the President's rhetoric on the effectiveness of the government projects and infrastructure development, which are signs of economic growth and development. The analysis investigates this chapter as the reflections on Namibia's 17 years into independence.

The fourth chapter focuses on President Pohamba's third independence anniversary speech. Here the study analyses how Pohamba's words emphasised the praiseworthy values by strengthening the country's diplomatic relation with other countries, as well as promoting democracy. Thus, the study's main theme lies on Hifikepunye Pohamba's rhetoric of democracy.

The fifth chapter focuses on President Pohamba's fourth independence anniversary speech which marked the end of his first term of office. In that chapter, the study analyses how Pohamba's

political deliberative is an important tool of the country's democracy. Finally, the last section draws up a conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER ONE

HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS:

Namibia's 15th Independence Anniversary on 21 March 2005 in Windhoek

1.1 Introduction

On 21 March 21 2005, Hifikepunye Pohamba was sworn in as the second President of the Republic of Namibia. It was a moment of triumphant celebration of the hard-won independence through the liberation struggle and an enjoyment of prosperity, peace, security and stability.

“An inaugural is uniquely sacramental: the peaceful transfer of power is one of the key elements that have made ours the oldest surviving democracy on earth” (Jones, 2010, p. 89).⁵² In his assertion of the continuation of the strength of American political analysis, Jones (2010) ascertain the goals of an inaugural address: that it is during the inaugural ceremony a person who has been elected by the people in a free and fair presidential election is sworn into office in front of the people who elected him or her.

This was the same situation with the Namibian presidency in 1990 on the transition from apartheid rule to a democratic Namibia when the country inaugurated its first president, Sam Shafiishuna Nujoma. Equally, Hifikepunye Pohamba became president through a relatively peaceful democratic process and was inaugurated in March 2005. The Namibian political life regards a president's delivery of an inaugural address as one of the important civic rituals; therefore the Constitution requires that before taking charge of the office, the president-elect

⁵² Jones, C. O. (2010). *"The Inaugural Address: Ceremony of Transitions."* *The President's Words: Speeches and Speechwriting in the Modern White House*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 87-110. Print.

swears an oath of office to preserve, protect and defend the Namibian Constitution. The rhetoric employed by the president during the inaugural address shapes their oncoming governance.

Therefore, this study regards President Hifikepunye Pohamba's inaugural speech in this chapter as one of the monumental occasions in the history of Namibian politics.

Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, which is about functions, powers and duties of the President, clearly stipulates the President's obligations as follows:⁵³

As the Head of State, the President shall uphold, protect and defend the Constitution as the Supreme Law, and shall perform with dignity and leadership all acts necessary, expedient, reasonably and incidental to the discharge of the executive functions of the Government, subject to the overriding terms of this Constitution and the laws of Namibia, which he or she is constitutionally obliged to protect, to administer and to execute.

Campbell and Jamieson (1990) assert that inaugural addresses are a subspecies of what Aristotle would characterise as epideictic rhetoric. Epideictic rhetoric is defined as a form of rhetoric that "praises or blames ceremonial occasions, invites the audience to evaluate the speaker's performance, recalls the past and speculates about the future while focusing on the present, employs a noble, dignified literary style, and amplifies or rehearses admitted facts".⁵⁴

⁵³ *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (2nd ed)*(2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.

⁵⁴ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990). Inaugurating the presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 394-411.

Campbell and Jamieson (1990) further state that inaugural addresses fit the genre of epideictic rhetoric because they are “delivered on ceremonial occasions, link past and future in present contemplation, affirm or praise the shared values as indicative of the Rhetorical Analysis of President Pohamba’s maintaining of legacy of the shaping of democracy in Namibia”.

Epideictic rhetoric is then modified by the constraints of the presidency and produces the four elements that define the presidential inaugural address and distinguish it from other examples of epideictic rhetoric. According to Campbell and Jamieson (1990, p. 30):⁵⁵

[t]he presidential inaugural (1) unifies the audience by reconstituting its members as the people, who can witness and ratify the ceremony, (2) rehearses communal values drawn from the past; (3) sets forth the political principles that will guide the new administration; and (4) demonstrates through enactment that the president appreciates the requirements and limitations of executive functions.

The analysis in this chapter focuses on four of Campbell and Jamieson’s elements: commemoration of the nation’s past, unifying the audience, speaking in a common tongue, and rehearsing traditional values. Furthermore, different types of rhetoric such as epideictic, deliberative and forensic, as well as pathos, logos and ethos, are investigated in the analysis of the speech.

⁵⁵ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990), *ibid.* 54.

Moreover, Hifikepunye Pohamba's inauguration marks the second consecutive peaceful transition of power since the historic day of 21 March 1990. He made use of what Singelman (1996) suggests presidents use the occasion for. Thus, Pohamba commemorated the nation's past, to envision its future, and tried to set the tone for the next four years of his presidency. This was vital as this was the first occasion on which he had to establish his ethos.

1.2 Audience

According to Bitzer (1968), audience is one of the three elements of rhetorical situation.⁵⁶ President Pohamba's inaugural address is the situation in which rhetorical tools are employed in his language to construct clear and effective messages for his audience.

Aristotle (2007) asserts how important it is for the speaker to know the characteristics of his audience. He discusses the types of political constitution that exist so that the speaker will know how to appear persuasive to an audience of any type. In support of Aristotle's assertion, the current researcher's argument is that each type of audience must be addressed differently if one is to be persuasive. To be successful in addressing a heterogeneous audience, the message must contain levels of meaning in addition to the overt statements of policy preference of intention.⁵⁷ Pohamba's inaugural speech includes matters of interest to his audience in order for it not to fall flat; this is judged by the response of his audience that is analysed in this section.

⁵⁶ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 1(1), 1-104.

⁵⁷ Myers, F. (1999). Political argumentation and the composite audience: A case study. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 85(1), 55-71.

Furthermore, Hifikepunye Pohamba's inaugural speech clarifies Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1969) assertion on the position of the audience's response to epideictic rhetoric, in such a way that epideictic discourse hinges on an audience that receives it as the inspired discourse of ritual celebration, invoking traditional values. "Members of the epideictic audience are therefore typically viewed, at best, as aesthetic judges of the speaker's talent and, at worst, as victims of the speaker's logos."⁵⁸ Furthermore, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) continue that epideictic audiences are given a view of reality with which they already agree. The rhetorical effect of such discourse is limited and self-contained, for it can elicit little more than nodding heads, applause, or, occasionally, a standing ovation.⁵⁹ Before standing on the podium, Pohamba is already positively judged by the audiences for his long contribution of the independence struggle. That means, the audience are automatically agreeing with what Pohamba will say.

Pohamba's first inaugural speech was directed at both Namibian and international audiences. The Namibian audience consisted of the immediate audience who were gathered at the Independence Stadium and the distant audience who accessed the speech through newspapers, radio, television and other social media such as Facebook, Twitter and others. The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation TV showed the live delivery of the speech. The study done by Thomas (1989, P. 88) asserts that:⁶⁰

The response to any speech can be measured in two ways: the immediate response reflected by the actions and comments of the persons present during the speech; and the

⁵⁸ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press.

⁵⁹ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *Ibid*, 58.

⁶⁰ Thomas, G.L. (1989). *Aaron Burr's Farewell address*. In S.K. Foss, (Ed.), *Rhetorical criticism: Exploration & practice* (pp.81-107). Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

delayed response as measured by the actions and comments of those who received only a “second-hand” account through such media as conversation, letters and newspapers.

Through the rhetoric of delivery, this study measures the audience’s immediate response as they react to the speech or part of the speech after the President uttered certain issues or when certain ideas or emotions are emphasised.

An atmosphere of great excitement prevailed at the Independence Stadium. The alluring and the screaming of excitement indicate that the immediate audience who were gathered at the stadium accepted their new leader.

Moreover, international audiences of Pohamba’s inaugural speech include the guests who were invited specially to witness this event. These were the Heads of States and other dignitaries. President Pohamba specified his international audience in his salutation remarks such as,⁶¹ “Your Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the African Union (AU)”, “Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government”, “Former Heads of State and Government”.⁶² With this, Pohamba established a sense of communion centred on particular values recognised by the audience.⁶³

⁶¹ Pohamba, H. (2005). First Inaugural address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at his Inauguration as President of the Republic of Namibia. Independence Stadium: Windhoek.

⁶² Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

⁶³ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 1(1), 1-104.

The present moment is the most important. Pohamba's inaugural speech is more of an epideictic rhetoric in a sense that components of virtue are used such as justice, democracy and liberty. He wanted his audience to recognise the "new dawn" and to realise that Namibia would continue to be governed in a democratic way. It is also tempting to consider Pohamba's address as a eulogy of democracy as he did not speak of the 'new' Namibia, but rather projected his audience into history after asserting that the new nation is born, by referring to the beginning of his presidency. The study regards this as the complement on the uses of epideictic rhetoric. This is also an example of the vital role played by rhetoric in shaping the democracy, as Pohamba used the rhetoric of modern deliberative practice.

Pohamba asserts that "I give special thanks to all the good people of this country who freely overwhelmingly renewed the mandate of the SWAPO Party and resposed their confidence in me by electing me as the second President of the Republic of Namibia"⁶⁴. Pohamba's rhetoric created a bridge between past and present when he mentioned the influence of his political party "SWAPO" in giving him mandate to lead the country in the next five years. Pohamba, in a way used his political influence to advance his party by mentioning it at such a national event.

By providing an insight on how critics can use epideictic discourse, Bostdorff and Ferris (2014) argue that epideictic rhetoric, at its best, engages the audience as a participant in the promulgation of positive change, a partnership also needed for dissociation.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

⁶⁵ Bostdorff, D. M. & Ferris, S. H. (2014). John F. Kennedy at American University: The Rhetoric of the Possible, Epideictic Progression, and the Commencement of Peace, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, (100) 4, 407-441.

In addition, Bostdorff and Ferris's study (2014) asserts that elected leaders may employ epideictic discourse to inculcate change that can lead to peace. While any form of rhetoric may be utilised for good or ill, the president's address demonstrates how epideictic performance can challenge old prejudices and imagine new worlds, a task especially pertinent to calls for peace and social justice.

1.3 Impact

Although it is not easy to assess the impact of any speech, Hifikepunye Pohamba's inaugural address was highly symbolic in the context of the Namibian political life. This study compares it to the major impact that was made by the first president of the country, Sam Nujoma, during his fifteen-year rule, especially on managing the issues of reconciliation, nation-building as well as the fight against apartheid and other social evils. These helped to shape the Namibian rhetoric of democracy. Equally, Pohamba's trait of commitment to collective leadership, his selfless attitude and his sense of uniting the nation are reflected on his line of argument of the inaugural speech as follows:⁶⁶

Our policy of national reconciliation has contributed to creating a society that is largely in harmony and at peace with itself. However, it is important that national reconciliation becomes a two-way process. We must all embrace it. We must remember that we have a common destiny (paragraph 10, line 1-4).

⁶⁶ Pohamba, H. (2005). *Ibid*, 61.

Now, more than ever, we must be united. Just as unity was vital in the liberation struggle, it is still very important for the implementation of our common objectives. That is the only way in which the nation can prioritise its needs and fully exploit its potential. A divided community spends valuable time in internal wrangles that can only sap its strength and ensure its failure (paragraph 11, line 1-4).

Pohamba further appealed to Nujoma's character (ethos), whose impact on democratic society is clearly known by many Namibians. He referred to his quote, ("the famous words of my predecessor, Comrade Nujoma") "a people united, striving to achieve common good for all members of the society, will always emerge victorious".⁶⁷

Furthermore, Pohamba's presidency made a big impact on 'transparency'. He clearly stated that as a continuation of SWAPO legacy, there would be no tolerance of corruption. Pohamba established the government agency, the Anti-Corruption Commission of Namibia (ACC) which fights against corruption and all its social evils. This agency was deliberately established under section 2 of the Anti-Corruption Act no. 8 of 2003 by President Hifikepunye Pohamba. The aim of this commission is to fight corruption.

Since corruption has been endemic in Namibia, the Anti-Corruption Act is Namibia's primary anti-corruption law, covering "passive bribery, active bribery, attempted corruption, extortion and bribing a foreign public official". Moreover, based on this, Pohamba articulated that:⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

⁶⁸ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

We will continue to pursue the policy of sacrifice and hard work that was initiated by our SWAPO Party Government. As before, there will be zero tolerance for waste and corruption in public life. I, therefore, make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example (paragraph12, line 1-4).

1.4 Methods of Delivery (*Pronunciation and Action*) in Pohamba's speech

Rhetoric is defined for the purpose of this section, as the study of the use of symbols in the most basic sense. Rhetoric dates back to classical Greece and is an ancient term for what is now typically called 'communication'.⁶⁹ The rhetoric of delivery underlines the centrality of 'visual rhetoric', a term used to describe the study of visual imagery within the discipline of rhetoric.⁷⁰ Moreover, the term 'delivery' is defined by Covino and Jolliffe (1995) as "how a message is communicated orally and visually through the use of voice and the body."⁷¹ This is a nonverbal aspect of the speech which was judged as such as the medium was visual.

The study uses the video-records (NBC 2005) of President Pohamba's inaugural speech to investigate 'function' as one of the areas that rhetorical scholars tend to study as visual objects, as it concerns the communicative effects of visual rhetoric on the audiences. The use of ideographs is also analysed in Pohamba's inaugural speech. With the use of visual and audio materials available, the preparedness of the speaker was also measured.

⁶⁹ Foss, S. K. (2005). Theory of Visual rhetoric. *Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media*, 141-152.

⁷⁰ Foss, S. K. (2005). *Ibid*, 68.

⁷¹ Covino, W.A. & Jolliffe D.A. 1995. *Rhetoric. Concepts, Definitions, Boundaries*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Delivery, as the fifth part of the rhetorical technique, has conventionally addressed the vocal and physical aspects of oratory, by examining how the rhetor communicates his message. With this, Buchanan (2002) considers delivery as the most important material of rhetoric.⁷²

Equally, the study found that the use of the speaker's voice, gestures, text, and images play a major role in the rhetoric of delivery. Since delivery focuses on *how* something is said, rather than *what* is said, this study analyses President Pohamba's expressive movements of arms and hands when emphasising ideas or emotions.

In order to make the presentation of his inauguration speech more interesting and capturing his audience's attention, President Pohamba used visual rhetoric and ideographs.

Foss (2005) asserts that visual rhetoric can be viewed as a rhetorical perspective on visual artefacts which constitute a particular way of viewing images and a set of conceptual lenses through which visual symbols become knowable as communicative or rhetorical phenomena: On the other hand, ideographs constitutes the link between rhetoric and ideology.⁷³ (McGee,1980). Pohamba made use of a number of descriptions of political consciousness that can be constructed from the structures of meaning in the vocabulary of ideographs.

⁷² Buchanan, L. (2002). Regendering delivery: The Fifth Canon and the Maternal Rhetor. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 32(4), 51-73.

⁷³ McGee, M. C. (1980). The "ideograph": A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 66(1), 1-16.

Moreover, one feature of the rhetorical perspective on visual symbol described by Foss (2005), relevant to this study is a particular conception of the audience of the speech. Here the study analyses the impact the use of gesture by President Pohamba has on the listeners.

The study found that the immediate audience responded positively to the President's use of gestures, judging from the screams of excitement from the audience when Pohamba emphasised that part of visual rhetoric. This shows how images persuade and describe the psychological communicative or rhetorical phenomena.

Furthermore, the study regards the term 'emblems' as the focus on the styles of speaking that correspond with the spoken words. President Pohamba lifted his face straight to the audience when talking about crucial issues such as HIV/AIDS. He emphasised the impact that HIV/AIDS has on the socio-economic situation of the country.⁷⁴

The scourge of HIV/AIDS is a serious socio-economic problem with a devastating effect on the social fabric of our country. The rate at which the disease is spreading is alarming and the care of the increasing numbers of people affected by HIV/AIDS puts a heavy burden on our health and financial resources (paragraph 14, line 2-4).

⁷⁴ Pohamba, H. (2005). First Inaugural address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at his inauguration as President of the Republic of Namibia . Independence Stadium: Windhoek.

The picture clip below illustrates this:

Figure 1: Hifikepunye Pohamba's emblems



Source: 2005 President Hifikepunye Pohamba's inaugural address. [Video recording].

Windhoek NBC

Just as any other speaker, President Pohamba used his powerful voice to deliver his speeches.

Pohamba spoke slowly in a deep, serious tone of voice in order to express himself.

Voice can be defined as the form of expression of thoughts, feelings, and ideas orally to one another by using the mouth. This can be done through a series of complex movements that alter and mould the basic tone created by the voice into specific, decodable sounds.

The current researcher observed characters of a competent eloquent speaker in President Pohamba's address, as he demonstrated this ability as an orator who used a clear and respectful

tone, appropriate to the situation and suitable to his audience. Moreover, although English (the medium of communication in which Pohamba delivered his speeches) was not his first language, his pronunciation of the words was correct and he used them appropriately in the context needed.

The construction of cultural memory through images illustrates a focus on function in the study of visual rhetoric. Foss (2005) further asserts that the use of iconic images is their appropriation to new contexts, where they function to create analogies that recall past moments and suggest future possibilities.⁷⁵ President Pohamba was handed the symbol of presidential power which consists of the National Seal, a copy of the Namibian Constitution and the national flag. After receiving these iconic symbols of power, Pohamba used his voice to declare the rhetoric of power. Traditionally, this must be done by a president-elect by swearing the oath or affirmation which is administered by the Chief Justice or a judge designated by the Chief Justice for this purpose. This is according to article 30 [Oath or Affirmation] of the Namibian Constitution. Pohamba stated this:⁷⁶

I, do hereby swear/solemnly affirm,

That I will strive to the best of my ability to uphold, protect and defend as the Supreme Law the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, and faithfully to obey, execute and administer the laws of the Republic of Namibia;

That I will protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the material and spiritual resources of the Republic of Namibia; and

⁷⁵ Foss, S. K. (2005). Theory of Visual Rhetoric. *Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media*, 141-152.

⁷⁶ *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia* (2nd ed)(2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.

That I will endeavour to the best of my ability to ensure justice for all the inhabitants of the Republic of Namibia.

So help me God.

In his political language, Hifikepunye Pohamba used certain words and phrases in order to capture and create particular ideological positions in articulation of his speech.

McGee (1980) asserts that the ideograph is a way of understanding of how specific, concrete instances of political discourse relate to the more abstract idea of political ideology. Furthermore, “Ideographs represent, in condensed form the normative, collective commitments of the members of a public, and they typically appear in public argumentation as the necessary motivations or justifications for action performed in the name of the public.”⁷⁷

Some of the ideographs used by Pohamba in his inaugural speeches are, for example, “rule of law”, “equality”, “liberty”, “reconciliation”, “unequivocally”, “sacrifice”, “socio-economic”, etc. Definitions of these terms are not clear.

Furthermore, President Pohamba demonstrated that he felt obliged by the new responsibility of being the country’s head of state. He looked very confident, with both a happy and a serious expression on his face as he started the first part of his speech. He further continued delivering his speech, spoke with confidence and gazed at the audience now and then, a symbol of

⁷⁷ Pohamba, H. (2005). First Inaugural address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at his inauguration as President of the Republic of Namibia . Independence Stadium: Windhoek.

proudness. This demonstrated his abilities and competence in the subject matter. As he raised his right hand and took the ceremonial oath, he looked calm and composed rather than scattered and rushed. His look retained a remarkably low profile. The still from the video clip below shows his calmness and composed character that was observed when he was being sworn in as the second President of the Republic of Namibia.

Figure 2: Hifikepunye Pohamba taking a ceremonial oath to be Namibia second President



Source: 2005 President Hifikepunye Pohamba's inaugural address. [Video recording].

Windhoek NBC

1.5 Exordium

Before Pohamba began his exordium paragraph, he opened his speech by saluting and honouring people gathered at the stadium for his first independence inauguration. He did this according to its ritual proceedings. He mentioned the “Director of Ceremonies”, his predecessor, “Comrade

Sam Shafiishuuna Nujoma”, and other important people who were present according to their hierarchy. Thereafter he began with his exordium.

Usually the speaker uses the persuasive proof of ethos whereby he/she can influence the audience of his credibility in his/her exordium. Moreover, the exordium plays an important role in the speech as it unravels the key notes of the speech when the speaker states the purpose of his/her speech. The more credible the speaker is perceived by the listeners, the greater he will succeed in winning their respect and confidence (Steinberg, 1999). In his exordium, President Pohamba displayed his credibility by referring to the oath he had made few minutes before he delivered his inaugural speech. President Pohamba was sworn in by the Chief Justice. The outgoing president, Dr Sam Nujoma, used this time to hand the symbols of presidential power to the elected President, Hifikepunye Pohamba, which consists of the National Seal, a copy of the Constitution and the national flag.⁷⁸

I took a solemn oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia.” He continued thus, “I swore that I will, from this day on, dedicate myself to the service and well-being of the people of Namibia, without exception, and to do right to all (paragraph 1, line 1-4).

Pohamba put himself in a position of being a devoted and dedicated leader for the next five years of his presidency and promised to do justice to all Namibians. This is another way Pohamba demonstrated his democratic ethics to his audience.

⁷⁸ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

Rhetorically, Pohamba's words imply that he would continue shaping democracy in Namibia. It is tempting to consider that he was ready to promote unity and his leadership would serve the interest of the nation. This is what Namibian people had been fighting for during the liberation struggle and it is what the founding President, who had successfully united all Namibians into a peaceful, tolerant and democratic society governed by the rule of law, had been doing during his three terms of office. Pohamba promised to maintain and uphold the wellbeing of all the people. He further used metaphoric devices such as "Once again, a new dawn has set on our beautiful country." This phrase implies a new beginning of his presidency, which is also the celebration of the 15th independence anniversary of Namibia, a symbol of hope, opportunity, stability, peace, and democracy. With that, President Pohamba successfully introduced the purpose of his speech, that of celebrating the 15th independence anniversary. Moreover, by employing the artistic proof of reasoning in the first two lines of paragraph 8, Pohamba's discourse further advocated the purpose of the occasion. "This day serves not only as the day on which I inherit the mantle of office of President of Namibia. It is also, a day to celebrate fifteen years of our independence"

1.6 Commemoration of the Nation's Past

In the fourth paragraph of his inaugural speech, Hifikepunye Pohamba focused on the country's history which as stated by Sigelman (1996), is a "major aspect of inauguration speeches".⁷⁹

Pohamba gave his respect to the majority of Namibians who had sacrificed their lives and shed their precious blood during the struggle for freedom and national independence. He reminded the

⁷⁹ Sigelman, L. (1996). Presidential Inaugurals: The modernization of a genre. *Political Communication*, 13(1), 81-92.

audience that the sacrifice of those who died for the freedom and independence of the country will always be remembered. Equally, Pohamba praised values of those “gallant Namibians” and at the same time orientated the audience to past events. Reminding his audience of the sons and daughters of Namibia who died during the liberation struggle for Namibia’s independence might be regarded as a very sensitive topic, but this was important to President Pohamba as these people should always be remembered.

As he took the oath of the office, Pohamba employed the ethos of Sam Nujoma, the first Namibian president, to remind the audience of the historic day of 21 March 1990 when Nujoma⁸⁰ “opened the way for the birth of the sovereign, secular, democratic and unitary Namibian state.”

Former President Nujoma’s ethos was one of Pohamba’s greatest assets, as Nujoma was the founding president of the Republic of Namibia as well as the long-term leader of the SWAPO Party, one of the political parties supported by many Namibians. Pohamba further appealed to Nujoma’s ethos by praising him and described him as a “legendary freedom fighter, a Leader of the Revolution and Founding President of the Republic of Namibia.”

Pohamba indirectly encouraged his audience to follow the legacy of Nujoma, that of being selfless in dedication to serve the people. Namibian people would be persuaded by this because they still regarded Nujoma as an icon of the struggle for independence. Thus they affectionately call him the “Father of the nation”, for the big role he played during and after the liberation

⁸⁰ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

struggle. Pohamba continued reminding the audience of the achievements of President Nujoma during the past years of his leadership, for his self-sacrifice and dedication to the service of his country. He further urged Namibians to continue to uphold the legacy of Nujoma that of “unity, peace, security, stability and prosperity. “

1.7 Unifying the Audience

Hifikepunye Pohamba unified his audience by using ‘together words’ such as “*We* must all embrace it”, “challenges that lie before *us*”, “*Our* Government”, “statement of hope that *all of us*”, “*will together*”, “*our* people”, “*one nation*”, “*one* people”, “*all* Namibians”, “*our* collective fight against”, “*our* road map to peace”, “*our* experience in the past fifteen years”, “*our* effort”.⁸¹ These emotional appeal words helped to establish the bond between President Pohamba and the nation. By using these ‘together words’, Pohamba successfully convinced the audience to believe that as president he did not work in isolation to develop the country but that it was a collective task and responsibility for all Namibians to develop the country.

Moreover, his repetition of the phrase “Fellow Namibians” at the end of each paragraph after his opening statement is another appeal to his audience’s emotions of togetherness as they would feel that they were part and parcel of Pohamba’s governance and at the same time they would think that they were valued and respected by someone of the highest authority in the country. The phrase “Fellow Namibians” also served as a call on the audience’s shared identity with the President as Namibians having undergone the same suffering during the liberation struggle. This

⁸¹ Pohamba, H. (2005). First Inaugural address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at his inauguration as President of the Republic of Namibia. Independence Stadium: Windhoek.

builds more on his ethos, the most important constitute of any speech. Aristotle (2011) claims that “Persuasion is achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible”.⁸² The range of word choices speakers and writers make in their efforts to persuade, influences the relationships of speakers, writers, and audiences.⁸³

1.8 Speaking in a Common Language

President Pohamba’s first inauguration was held during the celebration of the country’s 15th independence anniversary. This is the rhetorical situation which created an opportunity for Hifikepunye Pohamba to deliver the speech. Before any rhetorical discourse is created and presented, a rhetorical situation must exist. This means we do not have rhetorical discourse until we have the situation.⁸⁴

Fifteen years after the country had emerged from the yoke of colonialism, the majority of people still had a low level of English proficiency in Namibia due to the low level of education. Pohamba had to persuade his audience, who were both educated and uneducated, using English as the country’s official language. These audiences also come from different backgrounds in terms of the indigenous language they used. Therefore, using a common language (English) helped to blend Pohamba’s ethos with the audience.

Bitzer (1968) asserts that one cannot say that the situation is the function of the speaker's intention, for in this case the speaker's intentions are determined by the situation.

⁸² Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A theory of civic discourse*. Translated by G. Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

⁸³ Aristotle. (2007). *ibid.* 81.

⁸⁴ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). *ibid* 57.

“Before independence the type of education people received in Namibia was the Bantu education system which did not support the use of English” (Giliomee, 2009).⁸⁵ Therefore, in order to build the credibility of the character of his presidency, President Pohamba used simple English so that many people, his audience, would understand him. When expressing his ethos, a speaker attempts to generate on the part of their audience the belief that they possess a set of character traits appropriate to a particular genre of persuasive speech.⁸⁶

Although Pohamba’s first language is Oshiwambo, he could not deliver his speech in that language because his audience comprised not only Oshiwambo-speaking people. Otherwise, addressing the nation in one of the indigenous languages would have made the other audiences who spoke other languages, judge the President negatively. They would think that the President had the interests of only one group of people at heart and this could jeopardise his presidency. Therefore, the President used English in his speech. As English is Namibia’s sole official language, it serves as the common language. Article 3 of the Namibian Constitution states that “The official language of Namibia shall be English”. Sigelman (1996) asserts that presidents, for the most part, have increasingly become "more and more likely to employ language that is accessible to the masses".⁸⁷ In this way President Pohamba unified his audience: using English helped him to unite all Namibians, regardless of race, tribe, political affiliation, status, colour or creed as it made the audience feel as one community. Rhetoric is contiguous to a ground that is common to all. It must deal with ordinary language because it is the art of speaking to people who already have a language and it is common language that must be spoken to reach and to

⁸⁵ Giliomee H, 2009. A Note on Bantu Education 1953-1970. *South African Journal of Economics*, 77(1),190-198.

⁸⁶ Gross, Alan G.; Dascal, 2001. Marcelo: The conceptual unity of Aristotle's rhetoric. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*. 34 (4), 275-291.

⁸⁷ Sigelman, L. (1996), *ibid.* 78.

persuade them. Rhetoric also reminds us that when we speak we deal “with real communities, real values, and real politics” (White, 1985).⁸⁸

Lastly, Pohamba’s utterances met all the basic aspects of good style of any speech as they were clear, correct and appropriate for the situation they addressed. Most of the time his choice of words was those used every day, enabling the audience to understand him very well. He avoided political jargon and glaring grammatical flaws. He also used both simple and complex sentence structures to add variety to his speeches. With this, it would appear Pohamba seemed to be concerned more about speaking to the general public and less about “rhetorical techniques” (Sigelman, 1996).⁸⁹

1.9 Rehearsing Traditional Values

One of the focus areas of the inaugural speech of President Pohamba is how he rehearsed shared values that are drawn from the past. Campbell and Jamieson (1990) contend that rehearsing traditional values is one of the most fundamental aspects of the inaugural address as a rhetorical genre.⁹⁰

Pohamba’s discourse shows how he joined the present together with the past by affirming his commitment to the values of the nation. He showed his full authority of the position he held, a sign that he was ready to lead the democratic country that is Namibia. He promised to build on the foundation established by the Founding President, Father of the Namibian nation and indeed

⁸⁸ White, J. B. (1985). *Heracles' bow: Essays on the Rhetoric and Poetics of the Law*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

⁸⁹ Sigelman, L. (1996), *ibid.* 78.

⁹⁰ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990), *ibid.* 54.

the founder of the democratic society, Dr Sam Nujoma. Moreover, Pohamba called upon the spirit of unity and hard work, acknowledged what was achieved by the past administration and promised to continue with it in his new government. He stated this in paragraph 11, 12, 19, 20):⁹¹

In the famous words of my predecessor, Comrade Nujoma, “a people united, striving to achieve common good for all members of the society, will always emerge victorious” (paragraph 11, line 5-7).

We will continue to pursue the policy of sacrifice and hard work that was initiated by our SWAPO Party Government (paragraph 12, line 1-2).

I am happy to note that my predecessor laid a strong foundation in the form of legislative and administrative measures necessary for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of women. The incoming SWAPO Party Government will continue to build on the gains scored by our previous SWAPO Party Government in this regard by ensuring that the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of Namibian women are realised to a marked degree (paragraph 19, line 1-6).

Our Government, like the previous Government, will always look up to our senior citizens and elders for their inestimable advice and support (paragraph 20, line 1-2).

This shows that Pohamba acknowledged what had been achieved in the past and that the traditions of the institution would continue unbroken under his leadership.

⁹¹ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

President Pohamba also showed his willingness to continue his administration based on the previous administration when he stated that his government would ensure that the new Labour Act that had just been promulgated would continue its force (paragraph 18).

Namibia has been a member of a number of international bodies, such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the African Union and the SADC's other international bodies. Pohamba articulated in paragraph 26 that the country "will continue to play a constructive role" as usual in those international bodies.

To conclude this section it is clear that, Hifikepunye Pohamba spoke of the history of the country and about what the previous government had achieved. He projected to his audience the new dawn that has risen in the country, by referring to his new upcoming government and how it would be following the previous government's leadership. Pohamba advocated the nation's unequivocal support which gave him the courage to face the challenges that lay before his government. However, the rhetoric of his inaugural address did not include the affirmation that he would transmit the institution of the Presidency intact to his successors.

1.10 Genres of Rhetoric

Three genres of rhetoric described by Aristotle (2007) comprises of deliberative, forensic and epideictic rhetoric. Deliberative rhetoric is future-oriented, which is either encouraging or dissuasive. Forensic rhetoric is the orientation towards the past and either accuses or defends. Finally, epideictic rhetoric is the orientation to the present time and can be acclaiming or

condemning.⁹² Foley (2015) gives more insight on the epideictic as he defines it as “the rhetoric of praise, virtue, and esteem.” He further clarifies that the aim of epideictic rhetoric is not only to praise the praiseworthy, but also to appraise our ideals of worthiness itself. Epideictic rhetoric evaluates, and that evaluation affirms the values that a community holds, the values that hold a community together.⁹³

By referring to the current state of the country at the time of his inauguration, Pohamba reinforced values and shared praise for what the country had achieved. He stated:⁹⁴

We achieved our objective of political emancipation when we hoisted the Namibian flag of freedom, independence and sovereignty (paragraph 8, line 3-4). During the past fifteen years, we have demonstrated that our goals are achievable. Above all, Namibians have shown that by joining hands and working together, even the most difficult problems can be overcome (paragraph 9, line 1-3).

This is the vital social role epideictic plays in the reinforcing of the traditional values as the way the "tradition" is received in the present covers over the past.⁹⁵

Pohamba employed another technique of epideictic argumentation when he assured his audience of the effect of their deliberate action, that of voting for freedom and democracy. He declared

⁹² Aristotle (1994). *Rhetoric*, W. R. Roberts, trans www.bocc.ubi.pt. (Accessed 01 September 2015).

⁹³ Foley, M. (2015). Time for Epideictic, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101(1), 209-212.

⁹⁴ Pohamba, H. (2005). *Ibid*, 61.

⁹⁵ Elden, S. (2005). Reading Logos as Speech: Heidegger, Aristotle and Rhetorical Politics. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 38(4), 281-301.

that this “was, and remains, an irreversible choice by all our people”. He further stirred their happy emotions by articulating that all Namibians, himself included, have every reason to believe that a brighter future shines on the horizon of their country.

In the same paragraph, Pohamba employed a metaphoric statement, “We are forging one united nation on the anvil of our collective sweat and blood; it is a nation tempered in the crucibles of our collective determination. This is the triumph of freedom and democracy”.⁹⁶ The contention of this statement enabled the audience to understand Pohamba’s stance of the “postmodern democracy shaping its public deliberative world” (Salazar, 2002).⁹⁷

Another feature of epideictic rhetoric is found in paragraph 10 when Pohamba talked about the policy of national reconciliation in the country and its significance. He assured and advised his audience.⁹⁸

Our policy of national reconciliation has contributed to creating a society that is largely in harmony and at peace with itself. However, it is important that national reconciliation becomes a two-way process. We must all embrace it. We must remember that we have a common destiny. It is time for all of us to embrace our diverse cultures. It is time for all of us to rally behind one another as one people with a common destiny. It is time for all of us to prepare the ground for our children and their children’s children (paragraph 10, line 1-6).

⁹⁶ Pohamba, H. (2005). *Ibid*, 61.

⁹⁷ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

⁹⁸ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990), *ibid*. 54.

Here Pohamba stirred the audience's emotions by urging all Namibians not to take the policy of national reconciliation for granted. Since this policy was agreed by two parties, the reconciliation policy was put in place by the new Namibian government as a sign of ending apartheid era and beginning of living in social harmony. The study done by Salazar (2002), taken from a South African perspective, states that "one of the striking elements of the negotiated collapse of apartheid is the agreement reached between the various parties that the Constitution ought to be complemented by the public process national reconciliation."⁹⁹ Thus, in order for the democratic regime to function, that is in order for the minority to accept the majority, after deliberation, the values common to all members of the community must be considered more fundamental than those which tend to separate it.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, deliberative rhetoric is employed in the second line of paragraph 12 when President Pohamba highlighted what his government planned to do in the future. He emphasised the spirit of hard work to be continued and appealed to the audiences' emotions of fear as he mentioned that no act of corruption would be tolerated. He then appealed to his own character as he promised to lead by example:¹⁰¹

We will continue to pursue the policy of sacrifice and hard work that was initiated by our SWAPO Party Government. As before, there will be zero tolerance for waste and corruption in public life. I, therefore, make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example (paragraph 12, line 1-4).

⁹⁹ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *ibid.* 96.

¹⁰⁰ Perelman, C., Winchester, J., & Verene, M. (1984). Rhetoric and Politics. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 17(3), 129-134.

¹⁰¹ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid.* 61.

Another technique of epideictic rhetoric can be observed in Pohamba's speech, when he appealed to the ethos of Namibian youth by praising them and acknowledging the important roles they had been playing during and after the liberation struggle. Regarding them as the pillar of the nation and future leaders was another appeal to their emotions. Thus, appealing to the youth's emotions of dignity and pride showed the use of epideictic rhetoric, incorporating both ethos and pathos as follows:¹⁰²

I wish also to pay tribute to the youth of our country. Like their older compatriots, the youth also played an important role in the armed liberation struggle. They continue to play an important role in the struggle for socio-economic development. I am aware that the youth are the political, business, traditional, academic and community leaders of tomorrow. They must, therefore, be prepared sufficiently to make them useful and decent members of our society. We will, therefore, continue to place education and training of the youth at the top of the agenda for development. We will also continue to allocate a sizeable part of the national budget to education and training of our youth so as to equip them with the tools they need to contribute meaningfully to socio-economic development of our country (paragraph 22, line 1-9).

Prior to independence, the Namibian people were given an inferior education which would not give them the ability and capacity to contribute meaningfully to the economic development of the country. Therefore, mentioning the big effort the government would devote to the education

¹⁰² Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

and training of the youth was a vital subject to the audience that would make the speaker win their respect and confidence.

Equally, the use of epideictic rhetoric is also observed when President Pohamba paid tribute to the “workers of the nation”, (paragraph 18); he praised their diligence and dedication which had transformed the economy of the country from colonial to that of a free participatory government. Another tribute also went to women for the “invaluable contribution and commendable sacrifices” that they had made during and after the liberation struggle for “their useful contribution in nation-building and national development in independent Namibia”¹⁰³ (paragraph 19).

Thanks giving was dedicated to the senior citizens and elders for their inestimable support. Pohamba further praised the “critical role they played in the struggle for independence; they continue to play a pivotal role in nation-building and socioeconomic development” (paragraph 20). Equally, traditional leaders’ contribution to the promotion of traditional values was honoured and praised by the President. He called them the “custodians of our cultural heritage” (paragraph 21).

Pohamba also gave honour, praise and value to the business community and to religious and spiritual leaders of Namibia. The “business activities not only bring in revenue needed for national sustenance and development but also employment and income to Namibian workers”.¹⁰⁴

Pohamba credited religious and spiritual leaders of Namibia as having “always promoted the religious upbringing of our people and looked after the spiritual side of our existence”. Religious and spiritual leaders played a major role in Namibia during the “apartheid colonialism” era, and

¹⁰³ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

¹⁰⁴ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

they were still fighting for social emancipation and social justice, so Pohamba's utterances did not forget them.¹⁰⁵

Lastly, forensic rhetoric lies in the fifth line of paragraph 8 when President Pohamba stated that "(we) lowered, for the very last time, the apartheid flag, which represented colonialism, with all its ugly faces, white minority domination and oppression". The president appealed to the audience's emotions of anger by mentioning these words as they might remind them of the time of colonial era.

1.11 Conclusion

Pohamba concluded his inaugural speech in an epideictic manner by assuring the audience that Namibia could live in peace and harmony, because of the power of their common values and goals that exceed their differences. He continued using verbal tactics to complement logos as follows: "Our strength lies in the colourful diversity of the Namibian people, and in our different backgrounds, skills, and knowledge".¹⁰⁶

In the last two paragraphs, Pohamba made use of deliberative rhetoric when he articulated how the future of his governance would be, as he would continue shaping democracy of the post-apartheid Namibia. With this he promised to serve all Namibians and called them to build on co-operation, mutual understanding and trust. Pohamba also made a strong emotional appeal by asking support and assistance from all Namibian people. He further encouraged his audience not to be afraid of the difficulties and uncertainties ahead.

¹⁰⁵ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

¹⁰⁶ Pohamba, H. (2005). *ibid*, 61.

Deliberative rhetoric is the second most employed technique in Pohamba's speech, followed by epideictic rhetoric. This could be because Pohamba used this speech as an induction into his incoming democratic governance. Therefore, in most paragraphs he focused on the "logical strategy, that of rhetorical induction" whereby his discourse is on future nation-building. In other words, Pohamba practised what is named by Salazar (2002) when referring to Desmond Tutu, "shaping of unique situation: that of postmodern democracy shaping its public deliberative".¹⁰⁷

Epideictic rhetoric is the most common technique used by Pohamba. This could be because an independence inauguration is a ceremonial occasion. Campbell and Jamieson (1990) assert this:¹⁰⁸

Presidential inaugurals are epideictic speeches because they are delivered on ceremonial occasions, fuse past and future in present contemplation, affirm or praise the shared principles that will guide the incoming administration.

Moreover, Pohamba used epideictic technique in his speech as a tool of nation building. Only on a few occasions was forensic rhetoric used in the speech. This could be because Pohamba avoided the sensitive topic of the past colonial era in order not to invoke the sense of discomfort among the audience. This is a 'nation reshape' which could also be regarded as another aspect of Pohamba's case for his art of 'nation building' (Salazar, 2002).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002), *ibid.* 96.

¹⁰⁸ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990), *ibid.* 55.

¹⁰⁹ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002), *ibid.* 96.

Finally, throughout the speech, Aristotelian rhetorical proofs of ethos, pathos and logos are incorporated with the other types of rhetoric that are analysed in this study. Several pathos and ethos proofs lay in Pohamba's speech but few logos proofs. Since the emotional appeal is often linked to people's needs, President Pohamba used various verbal tactics to complement pathos, and ethos proof helps to build Pohamba's credibility for his new presidency. However, the use of reasoning was used less in his speech to persuade the audience.

CHAPTER TWO

NAMIBIA'S 16th YEAR OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY:

Hifikepunye Pohamba's Independence Anniversary Address in Windhoek

2.1 Introduction

Twelve months after Namibia witnessed the celebration of an achievement of one of its milestones, namely the peaceful transfer of power from the founding President Dr Sam Nujoma to the second president, Hifikepunye Pohamba, the latter delivered his first anniversary speech at the Windhoek Independence Stadium on 21 March 2006. This marked the sixteenth year of constitutional democracy. In this second chapter, the study focuses on the rhetorical analysis of President Hifikepunye Pohamba's First Independence Anniversary speech. The chapter analyses how Pohamba's rhetoric in his presidential speech on Independence Day justified, legitimised, inspired and above all, persuaded the nation. Furthermore, by highlighting a number of key issues such as corruption, HIV/AIDS, resistance to reconciliation and other social evils which hamper goals and objectives of the democratic and transparent government, the speech depicts how constitutional democracy has brought political stability to the country.

Speeches are vital to modern presidency as it is through speeches that the audience are informed about the presidents' policy preferences and allow the president to fulfil public expectations.¹¹⁰ Therefore, it is important for audiences consisting of Namibian people from all walks of life, although not all of the audiences could understand the official language used by the President, to

¹¹⁰ Eshbaugh-S, M. (2010). The Politics of Presidential Speeches. *In Congress & the Presidency*. 37(1), 1-121.

witness the President presenting the statement on the important day of the commemoration of the birth of the democratic state. Therefore, immediate audiences gathered at the Independence Stadium on that day to witness Pohamba's declaration of the 16th independence anniversary. Of the two types of audience discussed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969), namely the "particular audience and the theoretical audience"¹¹¹, Pohamba's audience on this ceremonial occasion falls under "particular audiences" as there was a crowd of individuals who gathered at the Independence Stadium and engaged with the ideas and opinions expressed in Pohamba's speech, and therefore were subject to persuasion. However, "mediated audiences" were also targeted as there were other Namibians who did not turn up at the Independence Stadium but would be accessing the speech through media such as television news, reading excerpts in the newspapers and from the internet, as the President's speech targeted all Namibian people. It is important to mention that the virtue of his character would make Pohamba's speech easily appreciated by his different types of audiences, as the "presidential speech signifies the substance and strategy of the man behind it"¹¹² (Hallsby 2015, p. 355).

Moreover, as one source of institutional power, presidential rhetoric was enhanced in the modern presidency by the ability of presidents to speak when, where and on whatever topic they chose, to a nation which comprise universal audiences through coverage by the electronic media.¹¹³ However, other forms of media such newspapers, radio and television broadcasting disseminated important information including that of President Pohamba's speech to the public, this enables accessibility by a large portion of audiences, for example people who live in the villages and

¹¹¹ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

¹¹² Hallsby, A. (2015). Imagine There's No President: The Rhetorical Secret and the Exposure of Valerie Plame. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101(2), 354-378.

¹¹³ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990). *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*. University of Chicago Press.

farms and mostly rely only on radios for news and current affairs. This is worth noting as the “media serves a gate way between president and the public”.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the rhetoric of President Pohamba’s First Independence Anniversary speech analysed in this section is an example of the type of rhetoric that had come to typify the institution of the presidency in the 16th year of independence, and thus signify Namibia’s constitutional democracy.

As traditional in presidential speech presentation and as a way of paying respect to the audiences who were present at the stadium, in the opening line of his speech Pohamba saluted nine groups of people according to the protocol of hierarchy. He asserted:¹¹⁵

Honourable Ministers,

Honourable Deputy Speaker of National Council,

Honourable Members of Parliament,

Honourable Governor of Khomas Region,

Your Worship Mayor of the City of Windhoek,

Your Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps,

Distinguished Invited Guests,

Fellow Namibians

¹¹⁴ Eshbaugh, S. M., & Peake, J. S. (2008). The Presidency and Local Media: Local Newspaper Coverage of President George W. Bush. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 38(4), 609-630.

¹¹⁵ Pohamba, H. (2006). 16th Independence anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at Independence Stadium: Windhoek.

The last group Pohamba mentioned, “Fellow Namibians, shows the rhetoric of commonplace as this indicates that Pohamba and the audience shared the same ground and values in terms of their state of citizenship. Therefore, this is commendable, as an appeal to the emotions of the audience. Furthermore, this is one way modern presidents persuade their audiences: as the increase in ‘people-orientation’ in presidential rhetoric can be witnessed, words denoting ‘kinship’ become more popular.¹¹⁶ Rhetorically, this contention also qualifies as an argument of inclusion, which implies treating one another as equals. As the President regarded himself as part of the audience, this bolstered the values of togetherness, inclusiveness, compassion, egalitarianism and equality in the audience, which are signs of democratic rhetoric.

2.2 Rhetoric of Commemoration

As in his inaugural speech that was analysed in the previous chapter, in the introduction paragraph of his first Independence Anniversary speech, Pohamba acknowledged the occasion by reminding the audience about the important occasion, “the celebration of our sixteenth year of freedom and nationhood”.¹¹⁷ He employed epideictic rhetoric as he focused on the present while incorporating past and future, and “praising the institution of the presidency, the value and the form of the government of which it is a part, a process through which the covenant between the president and the people is renewed”.¹¹⁸ Pohamba continued asserting the rhetoric of commemoration by reminding the audience of the important day in the history of Namibia, the day when independence was attained and the end of colonial system of governing. He said:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Lim, E. T. (2002). Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32(10) 328-348.

¹¹⁷ Pohamba, H. (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹¹⁸ Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (1990), *ibid.* 112.

¹¹⁹ Pohamba, H. (2006), *ibid.* 114.

We commemorate our collective victory against the forces of colonial oppression and apartheid. On 21st March 1990, we proclaimed loudly and clearly, for the whole world to hear, that from that day forward, Namibia joined the community of nations as a free, democratic and sovereign nation (paragraph 1, line 3-6).

The President's use of pronouns *we* and *our* here helps to build a bridge to the audience in the sense that it rallied the audience around the community value of inclusive democracy, dignity, peace, security, stability and prosperity of the country.¹²⁰ Pohamba included the audience and himself in the speech when he used these words (*we*, *our*) with the sole purpose of confirming commonality and the occasion (16th Celebration of Independence) being the convergence zone. Pohamba appealed to the audience as a means of persuasion and in a way managed to keep the audience attentively listening to his speech.

Furthermore, from a rhetoric point of view, Pohamba made use of what Burke (1969) refers to as “association type of persuasion”, which is, in traditional terms, a type of “explicit design” whereby “a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications. His act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify themselves with the speaker's interests”.¹²¹

Pohamba continued to articulate the deliberative plan of action that Namibia had taken in the course of its journey from the day the country was freed from the Germany occupations,

¹²⁰ Kangira, J. & Mungenga, J. (2012). Praiseworthy values in President Hifikepunye Pohamba's Epideictic speech marking Namibia's 20th Anniversary of Independence. *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 109-116.

¹²¹ Burke, K. (1969). *A Rhetoric of Motives*. NY: Prentice-Hall.

apartheid and colonialism. These included several tasks requiring collective effort of each and every citizen of Namibia in order to shape its future. Therefore, he emphasised that “the process of nation building would be an arduous task requiring full participation of all our people”.¹²² With this ethical and universal value, Pohamba’s argument became epideictic. It is important to note that “the orator’s aim in epideictic genre is not just to gain a passive adherence from his audience but to provoke the action wished for or at least, to awaken a disposition so to act”.¹²³

2.3 Rhetoric of Reconciliation

National reconciliation is one of the striking elements of the negotiated collapse of apartheid. This is the special kind of agreement reached between the various parties that the Constitution ought to be complemented and supported by such public process.¹²⁴ Sobczak (2013) asserts that:¹²⁵

There can be no reconciliation without some kind of preliminary agreement on an issue, be it at the political, social, existential or ethical level. Agreement does not mean a *priori* concessions granted to the interlocutor, but is the result of the process of reaching common views. It is an agreement that stipulates the solution to a given problem. It requires that certain conditions be established and that predefined rules be complied with.

President Pohamba employed rhetoric of reconciliation when he emphasised the importance of reaching an accommodation with people and consensus. He also spoke about the reason Namibia

¹²² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹²³ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969), *ibid.* 110.

¹²⁴ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

¹²⁵ Sobczak, B. (2013). The Rhetoric of Reconciliation. Retrieved from repozytorium.amu.edu.pl.

adopted the policy of “National Reconciliation”, that it is of healing the wounds of the past and moving forward together in unity of purpose.¹²⁶

Given the condition of the “rhetorical situation”¹²⁷ Namibia has undergone, it was important for the President to mention the important role this policy played in Namibia as a democratic country. Reconciliation supports the upliftment of national unity, so in his assertion, Pohamba mentioned that.¹²⁸

This policy has served our country and all her people well. As a result, our country has enjoyed peace and stability since our independence. Indeed, Namibia has become an oasis of peace in a turbulent world (paragraph 2, line 2-4).

Moreover, Pohamba’s rhetoric justified his standpoint as reflected in his use of the language of empathy that implied the sense of sincerity, the ability to listen and understand others’ points of view, and the assumption of the equality of communication partners.¹²⁹ Furthermore, in his rhetoric of reconciliation he used assertions and never relied on directives or statements that judge or evaluate. However, he emphasised the fact that people must not resist the policy of national reconciliation. “The rhetoric of reconciliation does not introduce divisions and opposing sides, it highlights instead the notion of “community”, “cooperation” and “acting together”.¹³⁰ Pohamba further asserted that.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹²⁷ Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1(1), 1–14.

¹²⁸ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹²⁹ Sobczak, B. (2013), *ibid.* 124.

¹³⁰ Sobczak, B. (2013), *ibid.* 124.

¹³¹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114

We therefore, have a collective duty to preserve and defend our hard- won freedom, peace and stability. We must guard against all tendencies of discrimination, tribalism or regionalism, because they can cause strife and conflict (paragraph 3, line 1-4).

In addition, the issue of solidarity towards the building of a New Namibia prompted the adoption of “the policy of National Reconciliation”.¹³² As such, Pohamba mentioned the policy of National Reconciliation in order to bring Namibians together, to forgive each other and continue having a “unity of purpose”.¹³³ Thus, Pohamba presented true and unique leadership attributes, and in a way, appealed to the audience’s emotions and persuaded them into action (action to unite in solidarity), which is another major intention of the speech. With this, Pohamba proved to the audience how effective the policy of National Reconciliation had been to the country. Therefore, the message behind the policy of National Reconciliation was to rally and support it fully as it was capable of uniting people for the purpose of developing the country. Sixteen years after Namibia had just emerged from the yoke of colonialism there might still be some individuals who resisted acting on the policy of National Reconciliation that was being implemented. Since the function of rhetoric is to cause change (Perelman, 1982), Pohamba’s call for a change in attitude, especially in resistance of to the National Reconciliation policy, was one of the key areas in his speech.

In his rhetoric of reconciliation, Pohamba gave the Namibian country feminine attributes by referring to it as “her”. This may be interpreted by the audience that Namibia, with its policy of National Reconciliation, was just like a mother who loves, cares and nurtures, and as such the

¹³² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹³³ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

Namibians had enjoyed “peace and stability” since independence. The illustration of Namibia as a “she” appealed to the emotions of the audience as mothers are naturally associated with love, especially the love between a mother and her baby. The audience in turn would see the goodness in the policy of National Reconciliation in that it could “heal the wounds of the past” ¹³⁴and for that, everybody would rally behind the policy without disputing it, as it had attributes aligned to that of a mother.

Pohamba skillfully used language by selecting the proper diction and vocabulary to persuade his audience to give prodigious support to the policy of National Reconciliation. However, he concluded the second paragraph with yet another well-selected and well-arranged set of words, to cement the idea of rallying behind the policy of National Reconciliation, when he said, “Indeed, Namibia has become an oasis of peace in a turbulent world.” This is a powerful metaphor in that the Namibian country is likened to an oasis, a source of peace.

2.4 Feminist Rhetoric

Equal gender representation and recognition has since become a global pre-occupation and a basic commodity for nearly every parliamentary house, Namibia included. In his speech, Pohamba incorporated women in the on-going developmental programmes of the country of Namibia, thus moving away from the pre-conceptualised patriarchal society witnessed during the epoch of apartheid and colonialism. Inclusion of women by Pohamba attacked and dismantled

¹³⁴ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

male domination, elevating women and persuading for their empowerment, evident from the speech where he asserts:¹³⁵

Another area of great concern for the government is the economic empowerment of Namibian women. Yes, it is true that we introduce and enacted laws to address discrimination that our women suffered in the colonial past. However, I believe that we need to take more practical steps to empower our women within the existing programmes such as land reform, support for small and medium enterprises, as well as through training and skills development initiatives that can enable Namibian women to successfully manage business enterprises and income generating projects (paragraph 10, line1-7).

Pohamba's feminist rhetoric deliberately focuses on women, denouncing male domination in a way concurring with Kuypers (2009) that male domination "promotes the idea that men are superior to women".¹³⁶ The phrase "need to take more practical steps to empower our women"¹³⁷ appeals to the women audience's emotions and builds hope in them that they are being recognised as an equal entity to their male counterparts and are being drawn to an equal footing as the males themselves. This may also mean that women have an equal opportunity in contributing towards the development of Namibia, should they be given the chance. Thus, women's contribution to the growth of the economy of the country will be significant to the country's development.

¹³⁵ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹³⁶ Kuypers, J. A. (2009). *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in action*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

¹³⁷ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

In his article on the subject, Goredema (2010) asserts that African feminism is a feminist epistemology and a form of rhetoric that has provided arguments which validate the experience of women of Africa and of African origin against a mainstream feminist discourse. Goredema (2010) further outlines that “it is a justice that aims to create a discernible difference between women who were colonised and those who were deemed the colonisers, and a social moment that aims to raise a global consciousness which sympathises with African women’s histories, present realities and future expectations”.¹³⁸ Pohamba’s choice of words concurs with this notion as it demands and draws the audience’s attention to ponder over what he is saying, particularly about women. The fact that Pohamba referred to history on “discrimination that our women suffered in the colonial past” is pertinent in that, as an inclusive and democratic government, it is willing to change and this is only possible through the removal of bias and focusing mainly on the recognition and empowerment of women. In other words, Pohamba’s feministic rhetoric renders him a feminist minimalist, as he views men and women as more alike than different, through his speech that agitates for the empowerment of women, unlike the feminist maximalist who believes that women and men are more different than similar.¹³⁹ It may therefore be highlighted that Pohamba’s rhetoric champions feministic ideals by effectively employing feministic rhetoric. Women are thus appearing on the map of Namibia and are expected to take their part in the contribution towards the development of the country.

Furthermore, the issue of empowering women gives Pohamba the credit of being an activist for equality between men and women. Pohamba made reference to the legislature’s laws that are in

¹³⁸ Goredema, R. (2010). African Feminism: the African Woman's Struggle for Identity. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 1(1), 33-41.

¹³⁹ Kuypers, J. A. (2009), *ibid*, 134.

favour of women (logos) when he said, “Yes, it is true that we introduced and enacted laws to address discrimination that our women suffered in the colonial past.” Pohamba subtly, but meritoriously, attacked the colonial past that discriminated against women in Namibia. He juxtaposed the two eras so that the audience could ruminate on the differences in the treatment of women between the colonial times and the independent times. The enactment of the “enacted laws to address discrimination”¹⁴⁰ against women acts as a powerful point of departure for Pohamba to inform his audience about the developments taking place with the sole aim to empower women. As such, Pohamba persuaded women to take responsibility in contributing to the development of Namibia, by encouraging them to be part of the land reform programme and venturing into income-generating programmes. The words that Pohamba employed were persuasive and motivational such that women were driven to act according to the initiatives highlighted in the speech.

2.5 Rhetoric of Unity and Humility

Bitzer (1968) describes various events for demonstrating different types of situations for which rhetorical discourse is required. An example of this situation is the Independence address; therefore it can be argued that Pohamba utilised the Sixteenth Independence anniversary situation in his discourse to instil the diverse nation with a sense of national unity. This justifies the argument by Bitzer (1968), asserting that rhetorical situation exists when a certain circumstance is understood within the context in which the speaker or writer creates discourse.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁴¹ Bitzer, L. (1968), *ibid.* 126.

Pohamba insisted on Namibians unite by mentioning the causes that tear the nation apart resulting in “strife and conflict”.¹⁴² Once the nation is torn apart, then independence ceases to exist, meaning there will be uprisings again, with one Namibian against another Namibian. The choice of words that Pohamba used was well calculated in that it drove home what he intended to impart to the audience. Pohamba was aware that Namibia comprises a number of different tribes, but through his rhetoric, the boundaries and differences between the tribes were weakened, paralysed and dissolved. To Pohamba, the tribal differences clearly did not exist as his speech preached and persuaded solidarity, peace and stability. Pohamba believed in “One Namibia One Nation”,¹⁴³ a motto advocating unity and seeing no differences in the people of Namibia. This inclusive character in Pohamba’s assertion sought to promote “communion of audience”¹⁴⁴ as there would be no one that would feel left out.

Pohamba went further to denounce such tendencies that jeopardise independence and its significance and meaning when he stated, “Doing otherwise is tantamount to betrayal of the sacrifices made by those who gave their lives during the course of our struggle for freedom and independence.”¹⁴⁵ Thus, Pohamba appealed to the audience’s emotions once again in order to persuade them to unite and desist from tendencies that impact solidarity. He made his audience see independence not just from a naked eye perspective, but compelled them to have a mental conceptualisation of the independence he talked about in his speech. In so doing, Pohamba categorically drove his point home by making reference to the sacrificed lives of those who participated in the liberation struggle. Again, this left the audience to ruminate over the meaning of independence and its significance.

¹⁴² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁴³ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁴⁴ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969), *ibid.* 110.

¹⁴⁵ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

In addition, Pohamba warned the nation about the dangers associated with such tendencies as “discrimination, tribalism and regionalism” that can “prove to be more dangerous and destructive than colonialism and apartheid”. The audience were aware of the ugliness of colonialism and apartheid. Their imaginations had been stirred by Pohamba’s mention that discrimination, tribalism and regionalism could prove to be more dangerous and destructive. As such, none of the audiences would then like to be associated with such tendencies as they are “dangerous and destructive”. Through his rhetoric, Pohamba won his audience over in a way that they would support his solidarity message.

Pohamba further warned the nation against tendencies that discredit independence. He reinforced the issue of solidarity by calling for “One Namibia, One Nation”. This again is a unique style noted in Pohamba’s rhetoric when he repeated the same thing but using different sets of words in order to foster understanding and reinforcement in his audience.

The speech was presented in commemoration of the independence of Namibia. The independence was directly linked to the war liberators and for that, Pohamba felt the need to mention some of the heroes by their individual names, as well as everybody else, including “brave sons and daughters”¹⁴⁶. This appealed to the audience’s emotions as the courage and lives of participants in the liberation struggle which ushered them into the 16th Independence Day they are celebrating and the other independence commemorations of before. Through his speech, Pohamba somehow compelled the audience to link their 16th independence celebration to the

¹⁴⁶ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

lives sacrificed, thereby prompting the audience to not just have a surface understanding of independence, but one with a deeper meaning and of significance to their lives as well.

Pohamba was well vested with speech-making skills as he could draw ideas from different angles and rearrange them in order to come up with a unique rhetoric in his 16th Independence commemoration speech. From the history of the country, Pohamba incorporated current issues when he highlighted some of the challenges such as “HIV/AIDS”, “unemployment” and “poverty”. However, Pohamba proudly notified the nation about the implementation of different policies to cater for different problems, as they “stand ready to implement policies and programmes”. This links to the purpose of independence, that independence must bring with it “self-rule” and must see the country developing.

Pohamba also addressed the issue of corruption. The words he used, in a way revealed what he personally felt about corruption. Just like those tendencies he had highlighted earlier on (discrimination, tribalism and regionalism), corruption was also added to the list and labelled as “an enemy of the Namibian people” and “a threat against our democracy, peace, security and stability”.¹⁴⁷ Again, it undermines the definition and significance of independence. Pohamba, through his rhetoric, pointed out that there was a need to “join hands to defeat this enemy”¹⁴⁸ and so called for a collective move against corruption as it hampers the development of Namibia.

¹⁴⁷ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁴⁸ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

2.6 Socio-Economic Development

Pohamba's rhetoric underlined the issues of socio-economic development of the country. He took pride in presenting the positive developments that were happening in Namibia, that again gave recognition to independence and underlined the definition and significance of independence, hence the 16th Independence commemoration. He asserted:¹⁴⁹

The achievement of political freedom and independence must be accompanied by economic empowerment of our people; creation of employment opportunities and: indeed the distribution of the fruits of independence to all corners of the country in pursuit of our National Development Plans and Vision 2030 (paragraph 8, line 1-4).

The above topic sentence from the eighth paragraph roughly sums up the developments and how they are significantly linked to independence. Again, the words used was expertly employed in that they tend to override the anti-developments. Those developments glorifying independence were mentioned by Pohamba as evidence (logos), in addition to an appeal to the emotions of the audience. Pohamba took advantage of speaker's credibility that he had already gained and was in control of, to tell the audience about plans still in the pipeline. For instance, he asserted, "The Government is planning to create a Special Economic Development Zones across our rural areas with the view to promoting and stimulating economic activities."¹⁵⁰ Pohamba managed to persuade his audience because of speaker credibility, which was under control. Pohamba went on to increase mental visualisation in his audience when he added more on the plans of the

¹⁴⁹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁵⁰ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

government, “as part of this strategy, the Government plans to build feeder roads and other infrastructures that can serve as a basis for sustainable economic growth.”¹⁵¹

Pohamba managed to maintain speaker credibility and trust from the audience. Through his rhetoric that was so convincing, the audience were left with hopes as they looked forward to what the government had to do for its people as Pohamba had promised in his speech and therefore would trust his ideas.

Equally importantly, Pohamba’s rhetoric considered everyone in Namibia, and in his speech he made sure that he at least mentioned something for each category of people in Namibia. In doing that, he had the audience in mind, and was aware that the different audience categories needed to be given equal attention and be in a position to buy his speech message. Youth play a major role in the socio-economic development of the country; therefore, Pohamba mentioned the youth and claimed that the National Youth Services were mandated to assist Namibian youth, when he asserted that:¹⁵²

In order to assist our youth, the National Youth Service (NYS) has been mandated to become more active by recruiting more trainees who will be equipped with relevant skills in different disciplines. In fact, the NYS has already started with programmes to train our youth. Upon graduation, some of these trainees are expected to impart knowledge and skill to new recruits and thereby make the service more sustainable. Others are expected to enter the formal economy, both in public and private sectors (paragraph 9, line1-6).

¹⁵¹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁵² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

He appealed to the youth's emotions and made them realise that as part of the on-going government plans, they constituted an important population of the Namibian nation. Through his rhetoric, Pohamba thrust responsibility upon the youth that in order for the programme to be perpetual, the graduated youth "are expected to impart knowledge and skill to new recruits". This somehow endorses the youth with the powers to contribute in controlling and developing the country's economy since some of them "are expected to enter the formal economy, both in public and private sectors". Thus the economy of Namibia is mandated and driven by the youth. On hearing Pohamba's speech, young people had their emotions stirred and they were motivated to contribute positively to the development of their country through training via the programmes running that had been implemented by the government. This concurs with Perelman (1982) when he asserts that every argument implies a preliminary selection of facts and values and choosing to single out certain things for presentation in a speech, and draws the attention of the audience to the speaker, thereby giving a presence that prevents the speaker from being neglected.¹⁵³

Another sector of the population highlighted by Pohamba's rhetoric appealed to the emotions of the senior citizens as he mentioned the government's mandate to ensure that their basic needs were met. Although the majority of the Namibian senior citizens did not access Pohamba's speech due to their low proficiency in the English language, the speech was delivered in English, as it was the sole official language in Namibia. Attending to the senior citizens' needs renders the government responsible for its people's welfare, as well as recognising them in society. Furthermore, distinguishing the senior citizens in Pohamba's speech reinforced the purpose of

¹⁵³ Perelman, C. (1982). *The Realm of Rhetoric*. Notre Dame. Translated by Klubark W. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

his speech, that the independence he talked about was inclusive of all Namibians, regardless of category.

Significantly, the welfare of workers was considered as another paramount subject on the agenda. Workers contribute to the economic development of a country. In order to realise growth in the economy of a country, workers need to be regarded as unique human resources that, if not treated properly, is or can be detrimental to a country's socio-economic growth. Thus, Pohamba's rhetoric adopted Quintilian's (1925 p. 12.1.1) vision of the ideal orator as "the good man speaking well"¹⁵⁴, as he demonstrated expertise in the art of speaking well. He directly focused on the wellbeing of the workers, thus appealing to their emotions. This researcher argues that Pohamba's rhetoric was good, as in a way it considered issues of human interest, thus containing "the moral characters for the ideal speaker (Quintilian, 1925, p. 12.1.1).

Moreover, Pohamba's rhetoric showed how he played his role as a president. In a way, he was capable of meeting the demands both of public and private business, he guided a state by his counsel, gave it a firm basis by his legislation and purged its vices by his decisions. Thus, Pohamba's use of the perfect eloquence qualified him as a good orator, "a good man expert at speaking"¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Butler, H. E. (1925). *Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria*. Book I. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by FH Colson. One vol. Pp. xcvi+ 208. Cambridge University Press, 1924. 21s.

¹⁵⁵ Butler, H. E. (1925), *ibid.*152.

Pohamba further asserted that¹⁵⁶, “We will continue to promote the welfare of our workers by promoting the concept of smart partnership among the government, employers and workers. By so doing, we will promote industrial peace and productivity.” Thus, the welfare of workers was given paramount importance as it was directly linked to the development of Namibia. Pohamba also called on all stakeholders involving workers and employees and persuaded them to “promote industrial peace and productivity” (paragraph 11, line 2-4).

If the intention of his words were achieved, then the economy would in turn grow significantly. This line reveals the impact of Pohamba’s speech on the socio-economic development of the country.

2.7 HIV/AIDS Pandemic

Pohamba drew in an aspect of health as it concerned the development of a country. He highlighted the issue of HIV/AIDS and other challenges the country was currently facing, including poverty and unemployment. From Pohamba’s speech, wealth and good health should move hand in hand as he said, “In order to create wealth, our people must enjoy good health.” This appealed to the audience’s emotions and stated that since independence, everybody was entitled to good health and as such everybody “should have access to adequate health care delivered in an efficient and effective manner”.

¹⁵⁶ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

With HIV/AIDS as a global anomaly, the Namibian government had also given attention to it by putting in place measures to minimise and control the pandemic, With regard to that, Pohamba further asserted that:¹⁵⁷

Our health care system faces enormous strain because of the HIV/Aids pandemic. While the challenge is enormous, our response has been equally forceful (paragraph 11, line 7-8). In order to stem the tide, the government has introduced programmes to provide anti-retroviral treatment to those infected and to prevent the transmission of the virus from mothers to their babies. These programmes are available at all major health facilities in our country (paragraph 12, line 1-4).

As a serious matter, HIV/AIDS should be a considered a problem that would need carefully planned approaches to control it. Pohamba notified his audience of the strengths of their government regarding the HIV/AIDS pandemic and how seriously they were taking the problem.

Pohamba further asserted: “However, in order to make a long-term impact, plans are underway to expand the availability of these services to more Namibians. I believe that all our citizens who need these services should have access to them.”¹⁵⁸ The use of the phrase “long-term impact” indicated the effort that the government was putting into fighting the deadly disease, HIV/AIDS. Pohamba’s words therefore appealed to the audiences who were directly and indirectly affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Hope was instilled in the nation that the government had them in mind regarding the HIV/AIDS problem. Thus, the speech positively impacted the relationship

¹⁵⁷ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁵⁸ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

between the government and its people in Namibia, a sign of “democratic deliberation” (Salazar, 2002).

The choice of words in persuading the audience determines the strength in a speech and the oratory skill of the orator. Pohamba did not scorn the nation for the HIV/AIDS pandemic and neither did he blame anyone for it. Instead, he found other available means of persuading the nation to dissuade activities that promote the spread of the pandemic where he asserted that:¹⁵⁹

This must go hand-in-hand with concerted campaigns to increase awareness of the pandemic among our citizens, particularly the youth. I believe that through concerted efforts and the resultant change of behaviour, we can reverse the trend and halt the spread of HIV infections (paragraph 12, line 6-9).

Pohamba further instilled in his audience the idea that the obligation of spreading and controlling HIV/AIDS lay within the individuals themselves. Once more he appealed to his audience's emotions, that the responsibility of the citizenry is solely in each individual's hands, in every Namibian's hands. In a way addressing patriotism subtly, he said, “Our people must make personal pledges to behave responsibly for the love of their fellow citizens and for the sake of our country.” Pohamba went on to call for a collective move in order to curb the pandemic, and appealed to his audience's emotions, which in turn would likely stir action afterwards, when he stated:¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁶⁰ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

I would like to use this opportunity to call upon all our citizens to join hands to work closely with our government with a view to adequately addressing HIV/Aids pandemic. Many Namibians shed their precious blood and sacrificed their lives for the freedom that we enjoy today. Let us honour them by building a healthy and prosperous nation (paragraph 13, line 1-4).

Though HIV/AIDS is a global problem, Pohamba rhetorically linked it to the struggle for Namibia independence indirectly through “health” as one of the components of the significance of independence. That in a way showed how skillful Pohamba was: when he wanted to persuade his audience: he used any available means in such a way that he competently drew in anything relevant in order to bring \$out his argument clearly and effectively.

Another crucial sector that is of crucial and related to the health of an independent Namibia was the production of various crops for local consumption through the “Green Scheme”. The scheme is favourable and as such Pohamba persuaded his audience to continue with the project as it is fairly supported by the government as well. This in turn promotes food production and impacts on the agricultural sector in the country. As a means to encourage food production, Pohamba asserted that:¹⁶¹

The Government provides a package of incentives to both small scale farmers and to the commercial farmers who participate in the programme. Another way in which the government is encouraging food production is through the implementation of fish

¹⁶¹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

farming and aquaculture projects. These efforts are part of our broader strategy to make the agricultural sector in Namibia more productive with a view to meeting to growth needs of our nation (paragraph 14, line 2-7).

2.8 Constitutional Democracy

Pohamba made reference to the “ballot box”, which in a way legitimised his presidency and his right to deliver the 16th Independence Day commemoration speech. The “ballot box” may be interpreted as metaphoric in the sense that it demonstrates the effect of constitutional democracy characterised by the respects of the nation’s choice. Pohamba asserted that “One year ago, our country achieved a historic milestone when we witnessed a peaceful transition of power from the Founding President to me as the Second President of the Republic”.¹⁶² This statement shows that the democracy prevailing in Namibia as peaceful, taking in the presidency, is witnessed and done according to the results of “the ballot”. Thus “the ballot” is effective and reflective of the nation’s voice and choice. Pohamba further employed the rhetoric of epideictic as he praised the nation for taking “the ballot” as a peaceful stance defining democracy when he asserted that:¹⁶³

This is a vivid indication that our tree of democracy has grown deep roots. We have held regular peaceful, free and fair elections, which signify and underscore the maturity of our democratic system and the growth of our institutions (paragraph 15, line 5-8).

¹⁶² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁶³ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114

In other words, Pohamba persuaded the nation to continue using “the ballot” as a means of expressing their voice and choice and to desist from other means that hinder the growth of the “tree of democracy”. Democracy is only possible in an independent state, hence the 16th Independence commemoration.

Pohamba ruminated about the political status of Namibia and mentioned his predecessor, “Comrade Sam Nujoma”, his legacy and how he and other leaders had “steered” Namibia “towards a stable future, within the framework of collective leadership”. ‘Legacy’ can be defined as the merits inherited from the predecessor (Burke, 1961)¹⁶⁴. Pohamba made reference to his predecessor and how the legacy of good governance is handed down from one leader to another. In other words, Pohamba was persuading the nation to give credit to Nujoma as he had pioneered the good tracks in which Pohamba was also following. In fact, the kind of leadership he contributed to Namibia was not individualistic but “collective leadership”. Again it emphasises the fact that Pohamba’s rhetoric was all-inclusive, it embraced everyone including the former president, “the founding fathers and mothers of our Republic” and hence they “deserve unreserved commendation”. A sense of *Ubuntu* is noted in Pohamba’s speech as his leadership is anchored, backed and sustained in “collective leadership”; hence the forces behind his powers “deserve unreserved commendation”.

Pohamba went further to magnify his gratitude by appreciating the nation for giving him the authorisation to presidency “through the ballot box”. There is repetition of reference to “the ballot box” – and repetition is a powerful tool in rhetoric as it aids in emphasising, stamping and

¹⁶⁴ Burker, K. (1969), *ibid.* 120.

reinforcing a crucial point. In this case, Pohamba emphasised the ballot box as it symbolises democracy, as well as the voice and choice of the people of Namibia. The ballot box thus legitimised his function as stated earlier on in this analysis, serving as a tool that shows transparency, peace and harmony within the Namibian boundaries.

Pohamba proudly made reference to the last “fifteen years” in retrospective in which he considered making the foundation and basis from which Namibia was growing, as noted from the speech in which he stated:¹⁶⁵

I believe that the lessons that we learned in the last fifteen years will stand us in good stead as we march in unity toward the future. A strong foundation has been laid, we must now continue to build on the successes that we have achieved (paragraph 16, line 5-8).

The foundations represent the achievements worth applauding that the country had so far attained in the past fifteen years, as the nation advanced into the future “in unity”. Pohamba’s rhetoric collectively invited the people of Namibia to “continue to build on the successes” that had been attained in the past fifteen years as he spoke on the sixteenth year of the country’s independence anniversary. In the speech, Pohamba identified three potent nouns that if observed, would drive the country into “unfeigned thriving development”, when he said, “We need peace, security and stability”. The nouns *peace*, *security* and *stability* function hand in hand and are basic to democracy.

¹⁶⁵ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

Pohamba additionally swayed his audience into supporting his ideas by repeating the issue of reconciliation that he had already highlighted earlier in the speech when he stated that “We need to embrace national reconciliation, tolerance and mutual understanding. We need unity and inclusiveness.” Reconciliation entails forgiveness and unity, and promotes working together towards achieving the same goals. Pohamba’s speech targets reconciliation as one of its major purposes of his speech, as it has impact on the development of the country, hence the repetition and reinforcement of reconciliation. Pohamba went on to insist on inclusiveness, a trait that is common in his rhetoric noted throughout his speech. This inclusion in the development of Namibia is noted in his statement, “We need unity and inclusiveness¹⁶⁶. These are prerequisites for progress in all our endeavours”. Progress is what the national audience wanted, so adherence to Pohamba’s speech would meet the nation’s desires.

Pohamba is aware of setbacks that may impede progress in nation building. As such he stated that, “I am fully aware that there are many challenges that we face, in the process of nation building.” Being aware of the impediments shows that Pohamba’s speech was well researched in the matter that he was delivering to the nation. He was assertive of impediments when he stated that, “However, I am equally confident that we are walking on the right path. A path that can take our country towards a brighter future.”¹⁶⁷ As a government that was sensitive and loyal to its people it was therefore obligated and “committed to do what is right in the interests of our country and her people.” Pohamba swayed the audience that he and the government were doing a great job in committing themselves to the welfare of the country and its inhabitants. Pohamba clearly indicated to his audience that his government’s commitments were actually motivated by

¹⁶⁶ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁶⁷ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

the nation's instruction that had brought them into power. For that reason their commitment was people-centred and oriented to nation building. This helped Pohamba to maintain his speaker credibility as he stated optimistic contributions towards the good of the country.

Furthermore, Pohamba's work outside the speech, as the speech may never come alone¹⁶⁸, is recognised as good, meaning that he maintained a good reputation; in the presentation of the speech, the audience were bound to be swayed by his speech as well. Pohamba further expressed the government's commitment as assigned to it by the nation when he said, "We are committed to work hard and fulfil the mandate given to us by the Namibian people to steer our proverbial ship in a safe direction."¹⁶⁹ Pohamba felt that their work was not something they chose to do but rather assigned to by the people of Namibia. The use of the term 'proverbial' shows that the ship story was common to nearly everyone; therefore, he was using it for the sake of illustrating, persuading and reinforcing. The message would therefore stick in the audience's minds.

Pohamba closed his speech with a powerful metaphor of a ship and its captain. In this regard, the captain represented himself, the president, and the ship was Namibia, the country, while the passengers were the people of Namibia. Pohamba felt honoured to be the president of Namibia and took advantage of his position to persuade the nation of Namibia to work together when he asserted that:¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Salazar (2002), *ibid.* 123.

¹⁶⁹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁷⁰ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

I am privileged to be the Captain of this ship. I call upon all passengers of this ship and all Namibians to work together as a team. We must all do our duties so that our country can move forward (paragraph 18, lines 1-3).

The issue of uniting and working together remains a key element in Pohamba's speech, being repeated over and over, though in different presentations. When Pohamba equated Namibia to a ship in his speech, the figurative language employed was metaphorical and made abstract things concrete. Through his rhetoric, Pohamba attempted to make his audience understand the relationship of a country, its leader and its citizens and how these parties need to come together and work collaboratively towards achieving the same goal. However, Pohamba was aware of the turbulences at sea and that the ship might be threatened when he said, "There will be times when the seas are stormy and the mission appears difficult."¹⁷¹ This simply refers to the challenges that Namibia may encounter. Such challenges could hinder progress and include the previously mentioned impediments: corruption, HIV/AIDS, discrimination, tribalism, religiousism, poverty, and challenges faced by the youth. Through his rhetoric Pohamba swayed the nation not to lose hope as such occurrences were bound to feature as the country was thriving, moving towards its developmental goals, just like the ship at sea whose voyage is threatened by risks at sea. Pohamba's diction consoled the audience and appealed to their emotions that they should not be deterred by such impediments as they were expected in such circumstances noted when he stated that:¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁷² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

That is part of the journey and we should never give up, because there will come a brightest day. The difficulties that we encounter on this journey should only sharpen our resolve to achieve our goals and objectives (paragraph 18, line 4-6).

Instead of lamenting and protesting against the impediments, Pohamba persuaded his audience to take advantage of the difficulties as these help to toughen them in the process of fighting and aiming towards attaining their set goals for development. Pohamba repeated the importance of uniting and working together in propelling Namibia to its developmental goals when he stated “Together, we can take Namibia to higher levels of development, peace, and prosperity”. This statement built so much hope in the audience as they were reminded that by their uniting and working together, Namibia could attain far beyond expected levels of development. Repeating reinforces an idea and increases memory capabilities, so Pohamba repeated the main ideas that he intended to pass to his audience.

Pohamba closed the speech by saying, “I wish our nation a happy 16th Independence Anniversary.” This served as a reminder that the speech was in commemoration of independence and that all the issues raised in the speech were significantly related to the main reason for the speech - the sixteenth commemoration of Namibian independence.

2.9 Eclectic Rhetoric

The study found that Pohamba's rhetoric in the 16th Independence Day speech did not conform to a specific rhetoric style. The speech adopted a variety of rhetoric approaches that were properly blended to produce such a powerful speech. The approach that Pohamba used is referred to as eclecticism. According to Kuypers (2009), eclecticism involves the selection of the best standards and principles from various systems of ideas.¹⁷³ Pohamba's speech therefore derives its style and taste by selecting and extracting the finest from broad and diverse ranges of sources. The use of the language of solidarity (*we, our, ourselves*) is noted with significance throughout the speech. The word *we* was used sixty two times and *our* and *ourselves* appeared more than seventy times, thus an interdependence relationship was established between the speaker, the speech and the audience, in some way relating to Aristotle's proofs – ethos, pathos and logos.

By virtue of being the president of the Republic of Namibia, Pohamba naturally gained speaker credibility (ethos) and respect from the audience. The very opening statement of his speech immediately drew his audience's attention and in a way, successfully convinced them audience to be listening to his speech. After observing protocols, Pohamba asserted that:¹⁷⁴

On the happy occasion of the celebration of our 16th year of freedom and nationhood, I have the honour to address the nation from the National Capital Windhoek today, 21st March 2006 (paragraph 1, line 1-3).

¹⁷³ Kuypers, J. A. (2009), *ibid.* 134.

¹⁷⁴ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

Pohamba felt honoured to address the nation on such a special occasion in the lives and history of the people of Namibia. By mentioning the term ‘honour’ in some way, his speaker credibility is instantly stimulated in the audience, so trustworthiness is entrusted on both the speaker and the speech itself.

The appeal to logos is also noted in Pohamba’s speech. According to Porter (2014), appeals to logos are necessary in a speech where facts are to be mentioned.¹⁷⁵ Messages intended to persuade require clear claims, substantiated by compelling evidence as verifiable statements. Pohamba made reference to specific heroes who partook in the liberation struggle for the country and mentioned their names (fact) to substantiate his claims when he said:¹⁷⁶

We remember our heroes and heroines such as Kaptain Hendrik Witbooi, Chief Samuel Maharero, Jacob Marenga, Nehale IyaMpingana, Mandume yaNdemufayo, Iipumbu yaTshirongo and many others (paragraph 4, line 8-10).

Providing factual information validates Pohamba’s speech by consolidating the speech with logic and reasoning, and at the same time shifting and elevating speaker’s credibility to higher levels. Furthermore, remembering these ‘heroes’ was a sign of gratitude towards their life sacrifices in order to liberate Namibia. This may be associated with the Biblical reference to Jesus whose life was sacrificed to save sinners. Tribute was also paid to the “brave sons and daughters of Namibia” who selflessly “fought fearlessly until final victory was won”. In this way Pohamba

¹⁷⁵ Porter, J. (2014). *Know the Three Modes of Persuasion*. Retrieved from <http://www.jrmyprtr.com/modes-of-persuasion/>.

¹⁷⁶ Pohamba (2006), *ibid*.114.

persuaded his audience through reasoning based on evidence and that the independence of Namibia did not just come easily, it was paid for in by people's sacrificed lives.

Pohamba also appealed to the audience's emotions (pathos) through his speech. An appeal to pathos causes the audience not just to respond emotionally, but to identify themselves with the communicator's point of view (Porter, 2014).¹⁷⁷

Other than Aristotle's proofs, Pohamba's speech also considered Cicero's canons of rhetoric. The 16th Independence anniversary speech follows the idea developed by the classical Greek of Roman tradition of preparing a speech. "The faculty of invention and arrangement", according to the Roman rhetorician Cicero (1954)¹⁷⁸ is clearly evident in Pohamba's speech. As asserted by Cicero (1954), Pohamba's rhetoric followed its own diction and style, with ideas ranging from the construction of argument to rhetorical performance. Thus, the rhetorical canons guided Pohamba's speech to achieve persuasion.

In his book *De Inventione*, Cicero (1954) defines the faculty of invention as "the conceiving of topics either true or probable, which may appear probable".¹⁷⁹ Pohamba came up with a content body of ideas reflecting on the reality that were well suited with the commemoration of the 16th Independence anniversary. He chose some major issues that he wanted to bring to the attention of the audience, such as stressing the policy of "reconciliation", the issues of "corruption" and the pandemic disease "HIV/AIDS". Discussing such topics brings insight into national issues, which is an appeal to the emotions of the audience. As much as he considered the needs of his

¹⁷⁷ Porter, J. (2014), *ibid.* 173.

¹⁷⁸ Cicero. (1954). *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Translated by Caplan Henry. Loeb Classical library. Harvard university Press.

¹⁷⁹ Cicero. (1954), *ibid.* 176.

audience, he demonstrated in equal measure his expertise on the subject matter, which was an appeal to his own ethos, and so was able to persuade his audience.

Aristotle (2007, p. 11) asserts that “technical means of persuasion are either (a) in the character of the speaker, or (b) in the emotional state of the hearer, or (c) in the argument (logos) itself”. In order for the orator to achieve his desired communication, he needs to employ the right mix of these three appeals.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, through Cicero’s technique of invention, Pohamba determined how he used the three Aristotelean appeals (ethos, pathos, and logos) in his speech.

Furthermore, concurring with Aristotle’s argument above, Cicero (1954) explained the rhetoric of invention by highlighting its importance as follows: “Of the five tasks of the speaker, invention is the most important and the most difficult”, in the sense that invention requires the speaker to seek all available means of persuasions to defend his or her claim. The means of persuasion include presentation of the speaker’s character (ethos) as trustworthy, logical arguments (logos) that may convince the audience, and the pathos or emotions that the speaker can awaken in the audience. Therefore, throughout the speech Pohamba made conspicuous appeals to unity of purpose, democracy, peace and stability, improvement of human dignity through social cooperation, political accountability, transparency, honesty, patriotism and effective diplomatic cooperation, as he employed the technique of invention.

Another of Cicero’s techniques of rhetoric evident in Pohamba’s 16th Independence anniversary’s speech is the rhetoric of arrangement (*disposition*). Cicero (1954) asserts that

¹⁸⁰ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: a Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by G. Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

Rhetoric of arrangement (*disposition*) refers to the ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned.

Cicero further exemplifies the five different parts of discourse that the orator needs to follow in the speech: introduction (*exordium*), statement of facts (*narratio*), confirmation (*confirmatio*), refutation (*refutatio*), and conclusion (*peroratio*).¹⁸¹

Pohamba's speech initially clearly followed these different parts of discourse from the beginning of the speech as he grabbed the audience's attention in the introduction part as he expressed his jubilant mood about the day to "address the nation from the capital, Windhoek, in commemoration of the collective victory against the forces of colonial oppression and apartheid".¹⁸² Pohamba's words above served as the start of the introduction and could have compelled the audience to pay more attention.

Furthermore, Pohamba's introduction (*exordium*) narrated the issues at hand by stating the purpose of the speech. What prompted Pohamba to present that speech was the commemoration of the 16th Independence Day of Namibia. Pohamba shifted back to the past when he said, "We commemorate our collective victory against the forces of colonial oppression and apartheid."¹⁸³ This statement is an appeal to the audience's emotion as it endorses victory over repressive systems such as colonialism and apartheid that the country endured before independence. It also serves as a reminder of the reason why Pohamba was addressing the nation and why the nation had to listen to that particular speech. In a way, this set the tone for his speech.

¹⁸² Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁸³ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

According to classical rhetoric, “statement of fact” (*narratio*) is that part of a speech where an orator should inform the audience of the circumstances that must be known before the formal argument.

Before incorporating the rhetoric of unity by addressing different areas of concern among the audience such as youth and senior citizens, in paragraph 3, line 1-3, Pohamba informed his audience of the crucial issue: “We, therefore, have a collective duty to preserve and defend our hard-won freedom, peace and stability”.¹⁸⁴

Furthermore, the confirmation (*confirmatio*) part of rhetoric is the core discourse, as the main points of the speech discussed here, and it should be brief, clear and persuasive.¹⁸⁵

By presenting numerous argumentations in his 16th Independence anniversary speech, Pohamba began with the most useful one after judging the emotional condition of his audience, in such a way that after sixteen years of the country’s independence, most of the Namibian people were still in the position of being logically persuaded on the issue of nation building, therefore, Pohamba logically elaborated on issues such as reduction on unemployment, economic growth, women and youth empowerment.

¹⁸⁴ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁸⁵ Cicero. (1954), *ibid.* 176.

The rhetoric of refutation (*refutatio*) is that part of an argument in which an orator opposes points of view. Pohamba refuted a number of antitheses of democracy by urging the nation to refrain from all tendencies of “discrimination, tribalism or religiousism”, as these might impede the constitutional democracy.¹⁸⁶ On this note, Pohamba incorporated an Aristotelian appeal to emotion as he urged Namibians to “stand together as one nation, under the banner of “One Namibia, One Nation”.¹⁸⁷

The last part of the technique of arrangement is conclusion (*peroration*), found in the concluding remarks of the oration¹⁸⁸. Towards the end of the speech Pohamba summed up his argument by using an appeal to emotion (pathos) in order to make the speech more effective. Metaphoric wording such as “There will be times when the seas are stormy and the mission appears difficult – that is part of the journey and we should never give up, because there will come a brighter day”¹⁸⁹ steered the audience’s emotions but equally, this assertion prepared their emotions to accept challenges the future might bring.

It is against this background that the researcher strongly argues that a combination of Aristotle and Cicero as discussed above, rendered Pohamba’s speech a tactful one. This is can also be witnessed in the way Pohamba’s speech was organised; therefore, it is worth to acknowledging the importance of being organised as an attribute attached to speech preparation by Cicero’s techniques of rhetoric.

¹⁸⁶ Pohamba (2006) *ibid.* 114.

¹⁸⁷ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

¹⁸⁸ Corbett, E. P. (1965). *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*. Oxford University Press.

¹⁸⁹ Pohamba (2006), *ibid.* 114.

The fact that the targeted audience shared the same attitudes and knowledge due to their common ground, therefore, the way Pohamba employed the technique of arrangement increased their rate of understanding.

In his speech Pohamba avoided single perspectives and drew his speech's power from insights gained from merging various perspectives into a speech used for a specific purpose, in this case the 16th Independence celebration. The ability to use various approaches rendered Pohamba's speech eclectic. In essence, Pohamba assimilated theory into his personal perceptions, and brought out the enhanced point of view through the powerfully organised speech. Eclectic speeches are not prepared by everyone and neither by the ordinary, as they require a wide knowledge base of the world around us.¹⁹⁰ In a way, Pohamba's speech shows that he was well-versed in political, economic, cultural, and philosophical matters, as substantiated by the different issues ranging from history to politics underscored relevantly in the speech.

2.10 Conclusion

To conclude, Pohamba's sixteenth Independence anniversary speech may be rated as one of the most persuasive speeches in that he managed to express great thoughts by incorporating the past, present and the future of Namibia and how these elements influence each other. The past referred to how the liberation struggle fought and the significance of independence. The present referred to the commemoration of the sixteenth Independence anniversary and the unveiling of the progresses that the country had so far attained since independence, as well as the impediments

¹⁹⁰ Luscombe A. and Nonnenberg H. (2015). *Practicing the five canons of rhetoric*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/15359943/Practising the Five canons of Rhetoric](https://www.academia.edu/15359943/Practising_the_Five_canons_of_Rhetoric).

being encountered. The future referred to the developmental goals still to be attained, such as “Vision 2030”¹⁹¹, as well as those still being worked on and awaiting implementation.

Pohamba also considered the use of strong and inspired emotion (pathos), which is a big aspect of rhetoric. This he did by making reference to real issues that impacted on the people of Namibia, such as HIV/AIDS, and that it was an individual’s responsibility to take part in curbing and controlling the pandemic. Pohamba also appealed to the audience’s emotions and persuaded the nation to guard against activities detrimental to the development of the nation, such as corruption and discrimination.

Another aspect concerns the formation of figures of thought and figures of expression. Pohamba skillfully drew ideas from different and even remote sources, bringing them together to form powerful thoughts. The issue of health he had highlighted earlier on is an example that an ordinary person might not have considered as linked to the significance and meaning of independence. Again Pohamba showed the skill of linking such aspects to his speech, at the same time not forgetting the purpose of the speech.

Pohamba’s choice of words was quite remarkable in that the diction employed was simple, comprehensible, and accommodates every audience. The metaphors employed are simple, for instance that of the ship and the captain, as an illustration that is common to almost everyone.

¹⁹¹ Namibia’s first framework which presents a clear view of where the country was, where it wants to go, and over what time frame. It is a vision that will take Namibia from the present into the future; a vision that will guide Namibians to make deliberate efforts to improve the quality of life of our people. Initiated by the founding President Sam Nujoma, Vision 2030 provides direction to government ministries, the private sector, NGOs, civil society, regional and local Government authorities.

The use of such metaphors aided in the elaboration of language and thus the speech was made accessible to everyone. The message reached the audience and action was likely to be taken in response to the persuasion from the speech.

CHAPTER THREE

REFLECTIONS ON NAMIBIA'S 17 YEARS INTO INDEPENDENCE :

Hifikepunye Pohamba's Independence Anniversary Address in Swakopmund

3. 1 Introduction

It has become a tradition that on the Independence Day, the president of the Republic of Namibia delivers a speech to mark the annual celebration of the country's attainment of independence from colonial bondage. This chapter presents an analysis of the 17th Independence anniversary speech, delivered by President Hifikepunye Pohamba. The speech reflects on Namibia's 17 years into independence.

3.2 Pohamba's Declaration of the Purpose of his Rhetoric

The function of an exordium in rhetoric is, "gaining the goodwill of the audience and winning their attention, by removing prejudices against the speaker or his cause and by dwelling on the importance or the advantages or the novelty of his topic"¹⁹². The opening line of Pohamba's speech "conveys genuine ethical ethos"¹⁹³, a sign of virtue which is also an intellectual virtue of practical wisdom concerned with action – the practical wisdom that must be reasoned and true stage of capacity to act with regard to human goods.¹⁹⁴ Thus, Pohamba's virtue can be defined by his choice of eloquence and behavior"¹⁹⁵. He announced the purpose of his speech in a short and

¹⁹² Donnelly, F. P (1912). A Function of the Classical Rhetoric Exordium: *The Classical weekly*, 5(26), 204-207

¹⁹³ Casey, K. (1996). Aristotle's "Rhetoric": An Art of Character. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 29(4), 436-440.

¹⁹⁴ Self, L. S. (1979). Rhetoric and Phronesis: The Aristotelian Ideal. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 12(2), 130-145.

¹⁹⁵ Self, L. S. (1979), *ibid.* 190.

precise way: “I am honoured to address our nation on the eve of Namibia’s 17th Anniversary.”¹⁹⁶ This is a powerful hook, which effectively draws the audience’s attention. With that line, Pohamba instantly set the stage for the speech and with that the audiences became aware of what the president was going to talk about. Pohamba’s universal audiences were, therefore, prepared for what he intended to share with them. This is an appeal to their emotion, as they are likely to expect the speech to be oriented towards the celebration of the country’s 17th Independence Day. This opening line may, therefore, be said to be properly crafted, as it essentially captured the audience’s interest, giving credibility to Pohamba’s skillful use of rhetorical strategies by introducing the central thought. Furthermore, in the same opening statement, Pohamba used the chosen words “our nation”¹⁹⁷ which appealed to the audience’s emotion and emphasised the importance of their presence, especially at a milestone of seventeen years after the country attained its self-rule.

Pohamba attempted to shift the audience’s perception of colonial regime to democratic rule, in other words this is a sign of respect for human dignity. This is one of the major themes in Pohamba’s speech as reflected in the focus area of the study – how his ‘rhetorical presidency shaped democracy’. According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969, p.142), the specific chosen words used in the speech draw the attention of the audience, thereby giving the audience a presence preventing them from being neglected, as well as occupying the foreground of the audience.¹⁹⁸ Also central to the speech is the country’s “anniversary celebrations”, an annual event. In this way Pohamba tactfully killed two birds with one stone, bringing the audience and the speech itself to the centre using one opening line.

¹⁹⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007). 17th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at Independence Stadium: Swakopmund.

¹⁹⁷ Pohamba, H. (2007). 17th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at Independence Stadium: Swakopmund.

¹⁹⁸ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

Moreover, Pohamba felt he has been “honoured to address” the Namibian nation on the 17th independence celebration. Being honoured, gives Pohamba a role that he executed sincerely with the sole purpose to serve his duty as the President of Namibia. As a tactful rhetor, Pohamba told his audience how he was personally privileged to carry out such an exceptional role of presenting the country’s independence celebration speech. As the president of Namibia and throughout his speech, Pohamba exhibited the praxis of presidential rhetoric, thereby exercising the powers duly vested in him as the constitutionally elected president. It is important to note that the discipline of presidential rhetoric is concerned with the study of presidential public persuasion as it relates to the ability of a president to exercise the powers of his office. The most important aspect of the presidency is the power to persuade in his role as chief policy maker. It is this power of presidents that constitutes the nation through the symbolic performance of their office. Thus, the 17th Independence anniversary shows how Pohamba’s language of power was deliberative.¹⁹⁹ Also, since Namibia’s political system is democracy, Pohamba made use of the speech to communicate to the people of Namibia how he intended to manage the country.

Furthermore, presidential rhetoric is a study of “how presidents maintain, gain or lose public support”.²⁰⁰ As stated earlier, Pohamba’s virtue of character made him “a man of practical wisdom” because of his character and abilities in the audience’s perception of the speaker’s moral character, knowledge and goodwill. Aristotelian appeal, ethos, can be called the most effective means of persuasion because “we believe in good men more fully and readily than others”²⁰¹ (p.141).

¹⁹⁹ Stuckey, M. E. (2006). Establishing the Rhetorical presidency through Presidential rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt and the Brownsville Raid. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 92(1), 287-309.

²⁰⁰ Windt, T. (1986). Presidential Rhetoric: Definition of a Field of Study. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 6(1), 102-116.

²⁰¹ Self, L. S. (1979), *ibid.* 190.

Moreover, by virtue of the powers vested in him, and in his capacity as the second democratically elected president of the country, Pohamba gained his audience's attention as well as admiration and was certain to maintain public support, since it was highly probable that the targeted audience constituted the majority of the population that voted him into power. The audience had confidence and trust in him, as well as respect since he was the leader of their choice. It may, therefore, be noted that the speaker's credibility was established instantly and was maintained until the end of the speech, without any doubt.

The features of epideictic rhetoric is evident in Pohamba's commemorative discourse as he purposefully employed the collective memory of his audience to take them back to the event that marked the beginning of yet another epoch in the life and history of Namibia. Collective memory is a rhetorical, cultural process arbitrarily connected to official historical discourses and personal memories, utilised by rhetors and audiences to mutually constitute a public for particular purposes.²⁰² The beginning of an era free from colonial subjugation was noted in paragraph 1 where he asserted, "On 21 March 1990, the people of Namibia stood together and spoke with one voice that Namibia was forever free and independent".²⁰³ This statement reveals commonality among the Namibians, despite the complex multilingual and multicultural diversity within the population's numerous indigenous groups. Strands of collaboration are thus noted, whose roots are in the liberation struggle fought by the Namibians that brought independence to the Namibian nation.

By employing features of modern presidential rhetoric, Pohamba communicated to the people through the speech about what had happened, what the government was attempting to do and what it planned to do. Thus, Pohamba reflected on the history of Namibia as it complemented the

²⁰² Palmer-Mehta, V. (2009). Aung San Suu Kyi and the Rhetoric of Social Protest in Burma. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 32(2), 151-179.

²⁰³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

purpose of his speech when he further asserted, “We declared unequivocally that we have reclaimed our sovereignty and that Namibia will never be a colony again”.²⁰⁴ In essence, the attainment of independence is deemed an event that is permanent and irreversible. By stating that, the audience and Pohamba naturally seemed to share the same thoughts and sentiments. Also, the agonising experiences that Namibians encountered during the struggle are literally buried, never to be experienced again – “Namibia will never be a colony again”²⁰⁵ as it has attained fully packaged autonomy. All characteristics associated with the despotism brought about by repression by the former colonisers would be a thing of the past. The statement that Namibia would never be a colony again sounds simple but is laden with connoted meaning.

By highlighting the past militancy such as “inhuman treatment, torture and violence” perpetuated during the liberation struggle, Pohamba reminded the audience that in the post-independence dispensation, peace, stability and security would enjoy priority from the government.

In addition, Pohamba’s reference to factual information endorsed the authenticity of his speech when he stated, “Seventeen years later, we take a pause to reflect on the journey that we have travelled”.²⁰⁶ This is a form of logical appeal (logos), where Pohamba persuaded the audience based on evidence of a social reality that Namibia had been enjoying self-governance for seventeen years. Pohamba’s statement is something that does not need authentication or verification in any form, for it is the naked truth of which the audience was very much aware. This concurs with Porter’s (2014) observation that appeals to logos are necessary where facts or

²⁰⁴ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁰⁵ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁰⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

processes are of utmost importance.²⁰⁷ As such, mentioning the seventeen years using other words gives credibility to the speech and the speaker, as the reference is basically the reality.

3.3 Figurative Language in Pohamba's Rhetoric

The seventeen years that Namibia had enjoyed independence is metaphorically equated to a “journey travelled”.²⁰⁸ Employing metaphors enhances the power of the speech and creates some kind of lasting meaning to the audience. Metaphors also help in keeping a grip on the audience's attention. Rhetoric empowers ideology through both style and argument. Pohamba's discourse, therefore, encompasses the use of figurative language to enhance vision, infusion of energy and investment of stability.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, to show impartiality and a true reflection of what Namibia has gone through, Pohamba candidly deliberated on both the achievements and the failures when he said, “We look at the successes we have achieved and to the setbacks that we have encountered, with the aim of achieving more.”²¹⁰ This he did in order for the audience to know that the country's past and present play a role in its future. The past and the present assist in the projection of the future and thus Pohamba spoke of “governing and planning more effectively,” mentioning the country's achievements and failures. The statement also tells the audience that there are always two antagonising forces existing in life (Manichaeism dichotomy), the binaries of black and white, good and bad, and also success and setbacks in the development of Namibia. To elevate his line of thought further, Pohamba stated that such considerations would “take our country to greater heights of economic growth and social advancement and

²⁰⁷ Porter, J. (2014). Know the Three Modes of Persuasion. Retrieved from <http://www.jrmyprtr.com/modes-of-persuasion> retrieved 30 June 2017.

²⁰⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁰⁹ Ivie, R. L. (1987). The Complete Criticism of Political Rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of speech*, 73(1), 98-107.

²¹⁰ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

prosperity.”²¹¹ This somehow keeps a speaker credible, as the listeners also want their country to thrive economically and socially. Moreover, it gives wisdom to the speech and acclaim to the speaker as well as recognition to the government that has its people at the centre.

Throughout the speech, Pohamba became a kind of voice that is able to give collective expression of the suffering that the Namibian nation had experienced during its liberation struggle. The despotic ruling from the former colonisers brought about extreme suffering and anguish to the Namibian people. The experiences were excruciating and may never be easily obliterated in the nation’s memories. It was this kind of brutal and distressing suffering that led to the liberation struggle and eventually the country’s independence. Thus, for the purpose of persuading the audience to absorb what he was delivering to them through the speech for future reference, Pohamba, however, employed a logical fallacy as he acted like a pendulum – that is, he oscillated from one period to another in an attempt to persuade his audience; however, this can lead to triteness and loss of ethos. This is noted in his assertion: ²¹²

After many decades of inhuman treatment, torture and violence, there was an urgent need to assure all our citizens that, in the post-independence dispensation, peace, stability and security would enjoy priority from our Government (paragraph 3, line 1-3).

It is worth noting that collective memory was used as a strategy for the audience to see how important and effective the government acts towards the nation’s growth and wellbeing. The pre-independence government was, therefore, exposed with its harsh brutality towards Namibians.

²¹¹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²¹² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

The pre-independence government was on a mission to annihilate the people of Namibia and exploit the country's natural resources for its own benefit. The juxtaposition of pre-independence oppression with the post-independence progress was done for the Namibian people to see the morality attached and engrained in the current government, thus in a story-telling format Pohamba further said, "Indeed, our SWAPO Party Government had believed in ensuring that the violence and pain inflicted on our people would become a thing of the past". White (2006) asserts that narrating or story-telling is one of the most effective means of public speech.²¹³ Pohamba, therefore, narrated to the audience that the SWAPO Party was solely responsible for the good times that Namibia was enjoying. The SWAPO Party took it as its responsibility to see that the nation was not suffering but living peacefully and in harmony. It may, therefore, be concluded that the SWAPO Party is in sharp contrast to the previous colonial government.

Repetition was employed by Pohamba to emphasise and as a means to keep the audience aware of the purpose of the speech. Political discourse has a hidden meaning through which politicians express their ideologies. The use of repetition in a political discourse echoes the sound of political power. Through repeating and reasserting its definite beliefs, a party aims to gain political strength.²¹⁴ Charteris-Black (2005) elucidates that the effect of repetition is to convey conviction, persistence and obduracy in a way that is memorable.²¹⁵ However, the use of repetition may also at some point lead to triteness and loss of the speaker's ethos. Moreover, although repetition generally refers to the propensity of receivers to regard repeated statements as more truly than new statements, this effect seems only to be true to a certain extent; therefore, excessive repetition may be viewed as irritating or even offensive to Pohamba's audience.

²¹³ White, S.B. (2006). Telling the Story: Kansas City Mayor and United Methodist Pastor Emanuel Cleaver's Use of Storytelling to Transcend rhetorical barriers. *Journal of African American Studies*, 9(4), 32-44.

²¹⁴ Van Dijk, T.A. (1988). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Massachusetts & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

²¹⁵ Charteris-Black, J. (2005). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. New York,: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moreover, repetition is employed as a rhetorical strategy for producing emphasis, clarity, amplification and emotional effect. Thus, the constant reference to the phrase “seventeen years” in Pohamba’s rhetoric shows a milestone of pride in achievements, though mingled with traces of setbacks. However, repetition in this instance foregrounds the importance of self-emancipation and self-rule, the main motivations behind the presentation of the speech. Therefore, Pohamba shaped democracy in his rhetoric. Repetition will reinforce remembrance of the speech in the audience even after the speech has been delivered. Elements of gratification are also noted in the speech when Pohamba asserted, “Today, we celebrate seventeen years of sovereignty, freedom and independence.” Thus the idea of the importance of the country’s autonomy is highly commented on, flagging the importance of the independence celebration. Pohamba further asserted:²¹⁶

Although seventeen years is a relatively short period in the history of nations, we can be proud of the advances we have made and the successes we have scored in making Namibia a better place for all her citizens to live in (paragraph 5, line 1-3).

The achievements that Namibian people have triumphed in “seventeen years” were esteemed, though seventeen years may be a relatively short period in the history of other nations. However, the honour lay in the gains achieved, forming the foundation anchoring all the developments. This was noted when Pohamba asserted, “As we build on the success that we have scored to date, our priorities continue to centre around the provision of social amenities to all our

²¹⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

people”.²¹⁷ The people of Namibia were thus brought to the centre from which all other deliberations radiate. Thus, primacy was given to the people’s comforts since the country was under self-rule at last and the rest followed. Pohamba’s rhetoric made his audience soak up every word that he uttered and left them inspired and wanting to listen further. In other words, Pohamba succeeded in appealing to the audience’s emotions (pathos). This was evident when he further spoke of “promoting economic growth, fighting poverty, expanding our physical and communications infrastructure, addressing landlessness and ensuring safety and security in our country”.²¹⁸ Again through his rhetoric, Pohamba managed to present the disconcerting issues that the country was facing. Mentioning the negatives was justifiable as they, together with the positives, gave a balanced representation of Namibia; otherwise Pohamba’s rhetoric would appear biased in the ears and eyes of critics. Also, Pohamba’s rhetoric conformed to the Manichaeian binary of being open on both the positives and negatives of the country. He went on to say, “We have made notable strides in these areas through the implementation of targeted policies and programmes”.²¹⁹ By “notable strides” Pohamba simply referred to the country’s developments that were visible throughout different sectors. Such notable strides marked progress and as such were bound to be welcomed and embraced by the audience, thus further maintaining the speaker’s credibility as well as the speaker himself having the audience’s attention in his command. The choice of words impacted both the audience and the speech itself.

3.4 Pohamba’s Rhetoric of Democracy

Kuyper (2014 p. 289) asserts that “people use symbols especially language to communicate. Words, spoken and written, are such symbols used to reach agreement that permits coordinated

²¹⁷ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²¹⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²¹⁹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

effort of some sort”.²²⁰ In addition, through rhetoric, “reality is constructed socially through symbolic interaction and the rhetorical presidency is instrumental in the construction”.²²¹ In his 17th Anniversary speech, Pohamba expounded with pride on how the country is enjoying the fruits of self-rule, free from the oppressive rule of the previous government. During the despotic period, the Namibian people were not allowed to vote and neither did they experience democracy. The Namibians were literally deprived of several, if not all, human rights by the colonial regime. Elements of subjugation are noted as the Namibian people could not cast a vote in their own land. There is irony in the whole story, as the Namibians had their rights affected upon coming into contact with the foreigners whose mission were to conquer - and the foreigners certainly did conquer and rule the Namibians in their own native land. As such, the deprivation of Namibians’ rights in all spheres of life inspired them to take up arms in the struggle against the oppressors and thousands of lives were lost in the process. The sacrifices that were made by these thousands indeed brought independence to the Namibian people.

Therefore, the coming of independence came packed with such benefits as electing leaders into positions of authorities, through the ballot box, unlike the previous government where leaders were imposed on the Namibian people, without the democratic process of participating in elections. Thus, Pohamba stated, “We must all take pride in the fact that since the attainment of our independence, our democracy has steadily grown deep and firm roots. We have held free and fair elections at regular intervals”.²²² That capability of holding free and fair elections is a sign of democracy being exercised and a definition to what independence is all about. Holding free and fair elections is a sign of fulfilling the intents and wishes of the freedom fighters who sacrificed

²²⁰ Kuypers, J. A. (2014). *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in action*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

²²¹ Ivie, R. L. (1987). The Complete Criticism of Political Rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of speech*, 73(1), 98-107.

²²² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

their lives to see democracy being exercised in Namibia. A repressive system does not practise democracy but autocracy. Pohamba further said, “We continue to enjoy peace and tranquillity”²²³, cementing that the independence the country attained yields “peace and tranquillity”. Also, the prevailing peace and tranquillity among the Namibians does not defeat the rationale behind the sacrifices and blood shedding that took place during the struggle itself. It is for self-autonomy that the liberation struggle had to be waged without fail.

Aristotle teaches rhetoricians how to incorporate into their speeches the variety of goods that men seek as they are revealed in their opinion and implied in their passion. In writing a rhetoric about a speech that aims at the advantageous and the just, Aristotle therefore tries to strengthen the political community.²²⁴

Pohamba used this technique in his 17th Independence anniversary speech as it marked the beginning of yet another reshuffle in the order of the political situation in Namibia. As mentioned earlier, the Namibian people had endured cruel and inhumane treatment which, Pohamba described as “many decades of inhumane treatment, torture and violence”²²⁵ were replaced with National Reconciliation. In essence, the National Reconciliation is deemed valuable by the way Pohamba highly pronounced and made reference to it, as well as seeking common ground with his audience. The policy advocates for unity among the Namibian people and does not encourage tribalism as it is detrimental to the true definition of independence. Pohamba asserted that “The Policy of National Reconciliation has served our people well” for it has “created a stable society where our people work together for the achievement of our common

²²³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²²⁴ Aristotle. (1987). Aristotle’s Defense of Rhetoric. Translated by Nichols M.P. *The Journal of Politics* 49(3), 657-677.

²²⁵ Pochamba, H. (2007), *ibid.*193.

goals of economic development”²²⁶.

Elements of sincerity are also evident when Pohamba spoke of “the Policy of National Reconciliation”. It appears Pohamba naturally embraced the policy as it has brought positive and progressive results to the people of Namibia. Pohamba was being sincere, which is another degree of ethos.²²⁷ In other words, the speaker was acknowledging that the policy was indeed responsible for bringing and maintaining peace and stability, thereby reinforcing an already established credibility. Therefore, Pohamba used this approach of sincerity in his speech to drive his audience to his line of thought, indirectly giving a command for the nation to adhere to the reconciliation policy.

Pohamba’s rhetorical deliberation outlined the major motives attached to the Namibian independence. In addition, several areas of commitment are also highlighted, believed to fuel the spirit of independence as well as deepen democracy, in the sense that Pohamba’s discourse engaged public policy, thus, deliberative rhetoric is important as it promotes democratic practice.²²⁸ Pohamba advocated this in his discourse as he asserted that, “We have committed ourselves to democracy, unity, peace, economic development, the policy of national reconciliation and the rule of law”.²²⁹ Such areas pulled together and solidified the independence to which Pohamba referred. Again, it keeps the spirit of the collaborative liberation struggle alive and the legacy lives on. The audience was made to know that the commitments that the government had towards the wellbeing of the nation did not work in isolation but are a proper

²²⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²²⁷ Kuypers, J. A. (2009). *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

²²⁸ Ivie, R. (2002). Rhetorical Deliberation and Democratic Politics in the Here and Now: *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 5(2), 283-301.

²²⁹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

mix that delineated the true meaning of independence. Therefore, with the country following earnestly the mix that Pohamba mentioned, it appeared democracy was prevailing and was anchored in the independence and was a result of sacrificed lives of thousands of people. This may be inferred as cementing the rationale of the struggle itself. Furthermore, such discourse appealed to the audience's emotions and thus persuasion was achieved. Renewed attachments to the liberation struggle were instantly created through the power of the speech.

With all the praxes mentioned by Pohamba being followed by the government, with positive results proceeding from the projects underway, it appears Namibia was advancing in terms of growth in its development. A number of realistic developments were cited in the previous paragraphs of the speech. This is evident when Pohamba said, "I believe that we are on the right path to make Namibia a better place for all of us and for our future generations".²³⁰ More of a personal assessment noted by the use of personal pronoun "I", Pohamba was certain of the progress that the country was achieving and that they were on the right track. In this same statement, an element of consideration and care was noted in Pohamba and his personality through the use of the words that pointed to the future generation. Elements of sustainability were also reflected in the same statement. Thus, Pohamba did not only consider the current life that Namibian people were living, but was equally concerned about the future generations who would propel the human race as well as the country in continuity. Further, through his speech, Pohamba highlighted the country's history and how it influenced its present life, leading it into the future. Pohamba also felt that what he was doing as a people-centred government, was most appropriate as it squarely fit the delineations of democracy. Democracy and the rule of law have

²³⁰ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

since been in place on the inception of independence and prevails to the present day - and foreseeably, are a critical part of Namibia's future. Thus, "only rhetoric can connect the community to the principal and sentiments that make democratic government possible."²³¹

Moreover, Pohamba's speech indicates strength in using rhetoric strategies in the process of persuading his audience. His choice of words reflected the rhetoric of democracy, notably where he continued to talk about food security for the country: "We are confident that the full implementation of our Green Scheme Initiative will enable our people to increase food production, create new employment opportunities and foster income generation to many communities".²³² Again, the use of words such as *we* and *our* bolstered the values of togetherness, inclusiveness, egalitarianism and equality, all qualities of democratic rhetoric. A democratic country does not segregate but incorporates everyone. Pohamba, therefore, considered the importance of bringing the people to the same podium with him. In addition, by mentioning the advantages of the Green Scheme Initiative which will lead to the creation of employment, the audience was not given any option but to appreciate what Pohamba was saying to them. In other words, the audience was compelled to subscribe to Pohamba's speech because of the way he presented his case.

The rhetoric of Pohamba denoted that the independence that the people of Namibia were enjoying and commemorating did not just come on a silver platter, but through a protracted struggle where considerable blood was shed. Thus, Pohamba asserted, "Therefore, on this day we must remember and pay tribute to those brave sons and daughters of our soil, our heroes and

²³¹ Ivie, R. L. (1987). The Complete Criticism of Political Rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of speech*, 73(1), 98-107.

²³² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

heroines, whose blood waters our freedom.”²³³ It would be a sign of immodesty not to “remember and pay tribute” to those whose lives were lost in the process of liberating the country. Rhetorically, Pohamba paid homage to the thousands of liberators as he stood in front of his audience presenting the independence commemoration speech. This meant he owed everything to the “brave sons and daughters” of the soil. Their sacrifices culminated in the independence people now enjoy as a nation. In essence, there is a need always to remember the liberators and cherish their sacrifices that brought self-rule to Namibia. In this case, Pohamba’s epideictic discourse can be viewed as a vehicle for self-reflection and self-criticism, an expression of critical and rhetorical self-consciousness, both publicly and privately.²³⁴

Again, elements of collaboration were exhibited by these thousands of heroes and heroines as they worked together towards one goal of liberating the masses of Namibia. In essence, the past was impacting on the present, and the effects would also ripple into the future – and these are the characteristics of both epideictic and forensic rhetoric in Pohamba’s speech. Sheard (1996) asserts that epideictic has been the rhetoric of identification and conformity whose function is to confirm and promote adherence to the commonly held values of a community with the goal of sustaining that community.²³⁵ Thus, it may be deduced that collaboration yields positive results, as the independence of Namibia was fought for in collaboration with all citizens. Accordingly, words of unity remain a prevalent feature throughout Pohamba’s speech. The invocation of the struggle solicited support for Pohamba and the audience were subtly but effectively forced to subscribe to his speech. Also, the propelling of democracy into the future has its roots in the liberation struggle that was fought to emancipate the people of Namibia; for that Pohamba went

²³³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²³⁴ Carter, M. F. (1991). The Ritual functions of Epideictic Rhetoric: The Case of Socrates’ funeral Oration. *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 9(3), 209-232.

²³⁵ Sheard, C. M. (1996). The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric. *College English*, 58(7), 765-794.

on to say, “Because of their sacrifices, we live in a free and democratic society”.²³⁶ This again instils a sense of selflessness in Pohamba’s audience as they are enjoying the independence brought about by liberators who were selfless by sacrificing their precious lives to bring Namibia out of repressive systems, hence the importance of collaboration.

Also, the words *we* and *our* used in Pohamba’s rhetoric shows elements of solidarity and were prevalent throughout the speech which brings the audience to the centre of argumentation.²³⁷ In addition, the aspect of inclusiveness gave the audience a presence that prevented them from being unnoticed. This is notable in instances where Pohamba said, “We are committed to further expanding access and improving quality in our education system”.²³⁸ Such discourse strengthened bonds of unity among the audience and Pohamba, as well as a sense of community. Thus, Pohamba used rhetoric to influence other people to follow his intentions, in that way justifying the underlying purpose in rhetoric, that is, persuasion.²³⁹ Again, the use of unity words created a neutral difference between Pohamba and his audience, thus together they stood in solidarity and worked collaboratively towards all forms of advancement for their country Namibia. This section demonstrates how Pohamba’s presidency was centred on democratic deliberation based on plurality, appearances, persuasion, and the ability to appreciate viewpoints, which are characteristics of a democracy.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²³⁷ Gross, A. (1999). A theory of the Rhetorical Audience: Reflections on Chaim Perelman. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 85(2), 203-211.

²³⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²³⁹ Kangira, J. & Mungenga, J. (2012). Praiseworthy values in President Hifikepunye Pohamba’s Epideictic Speech Marking Namibia’s 20th Anniversary of Independence. *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 109-116.

²⁴⁰ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

3.5 Pohamba's Rhetoric of Nation-building

It is a tradition that presidential speeches reflect, stand for, and envisage operationalisation for unity and prosperity, and these qualify it for a nation-building discourse.²⁴¹ Pohamba was aware that education is one of the major contributing factors to the development of a nation and hence promised the people of Namibia that the government intended to improve the education sector, which, if achieved, would contribute to the development of the country. This kind of persuasion may be regarded as deliberative rhetoric focusing on nation building, as it is stated by Aristotle (2007) that deliberative discourse advises about the future.²⁴² By making promises, Pohamba made reference to the future, notably when he said, "Through the Education Sector Improvement Programme, measures will be put in place to ensure high-quality teaching and higher pass rates at all levels [of] our education system".²⁴³ Reflecting on education shows that it is an area of concern that affects both the government and the masses at large. Therefore, Pohamba gave it much attention, maintaining his credibility and firmly holding onto the attentiveness of the audience. Reference to the future shows how Pohamba had a serious concern about the present and the future. Therefore, Pohamba drew from different sources of persuasion, in order to add value and solidify his speech, which would in turn impact his audience.

Moreover, an independent State must groom its youth into productive members of the society. As such, the children who should have quality education, which Pohamba highlighted at the beginning of Paragraph 6, need to be groomed into productive youth who can contribute to the economic and social development of the country. Therefore, Pohamba made reference to vocational training centres where a variety of occupational courses were offered to the nation.

²⁴¹ Chaka, M. (2014). The Rhetorical Makers of nation-building in Presidential Speeches: *African Journal of Rhetoric*, 6(1), 195-263.

²⁴² Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

²⁴³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

Offering such courses would equip the youth for the job market after school and into the future. This would mitigate high levels of unemployment if youth got the necessary skills required in industries and for any other service providers. This is evident when Pohamba asserted that:²⁴⁴

Government is committed to address youth unemployment among our school-leavers, many of whom are still in their teens. Measures such as those implemented through the National Youth Service and Vocational Training Programmes are aimed at addressing this challenge (paragraph, 7 lines, 1-4).

Pohamba represented the Government and his credibility was maintained, as he ruminated on issues that the audience wanted to hear and therefore their attention was equally engaged. Stating that the “Government is committed” reflected how the government of Namibia had the plight of the nation at heart and how it was fighting for the better welfare of its people, again repeating and reinforcing what he had highlighted earlier – that the government’s priorities continued to centre on the provision of social amenities to all its people. Unemployment is a critical area in developing and even developed countries globally, and as such the government of Namibia was obliged to find ways of curbing the problem, thus “Considerations are currently being made to expand vocational training opportunities through the establishment of more vocational training institutions”.²⁴⁵ Through the speech, a tone of responsibility on the part of the government was heard, projecting from the effect of word choice presented by Pohamba. The word choice appealed to the audience’s emotions (pathos) and made them attentive to the speech, as speaker credibility had already been established and maintained.

²⁴⁴ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁴⁵ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

Another area that Pohamba felt was significant to speak about was the health sector, which is important in any country, regardless of the country being developed or developing. An independent state enjoys its autonomy when it has a healthy nation, and an ailing nation results in an ailing economy, that is to say literally, everything becomes ailing. The health status of a nation is determined by the government's attentiveness to the health sector of the country. As such, Pohamba reflected on the country's progression over the years by stating that, "In the health sector, new hospitals, medical centres and clinics were constructed, upgraded and renovated over the years to cater for the health care needs of our citizens".²⁴⁶ Thus, a healthy nation contributes considerably to the development of a country. If the health facilities are available and are readily accessible to the nation, then issues such as the mortality rate are minimised, as medication and health services are significantly reachable. Also, the discourse of the government's initiative towards the health of the nation strengthens the bonds of loyalty and commitment on the part of the government for its people. Thus, a truly democratic government must take seriously the health welfare of its people. Pohamba deliberated on this section as it plays a major role in the development and the nation-building of the country.

In addition, Pohamba reflected on pertinent issues such as those that contribute to the wellbeing of a nation and stated, "The provisions of potable water and sanitation services have also been expanded".²⁴⁷ Availability of clean water is a milestone in terms of any country's development. Under-provision or lack thereof would result in ripple effects, as the nation is at higher risk of outbreaks of waterborne diseases as well as reduction in animal agriculture production.

²⁴⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁴⁷ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

Pohamba noted further, “Today, many residents in rural areas have access to safe drinking water for themselves and their livestock”.²⁴⁸ With these words, the audience would instantly see the good in the government as it was giving priority to issues that contribute to the development of the country. Availability of services such as clean water is a sign of development and self-autonomy which only comes with independence and good governance. In other words, Pohamba’s epideictic rhetoric was subtly praising the goodness in the SWAPO Party as it was bringing the best to the nation and keeping up the spirit of true democracy, one of the delineations of independence and democracy. Such services were limited to only the colonisers during the time of repression and the colonised had little or no access to clean water, which was detrimental to the people’s health in general and consequently their life expectancy was equally threatened.

Also, the “electrification programme” is added to the list of the achievements that the government was striving to attain for its people and ultimately its country. Pohamba said, “The provision of electricity is crucial for the economic development of our country”.²⁴⁹ In essence, the electrification programme was another signpost on the developments of the country and as such the audience welcomed it as it directly benefitted them. This again points at a government that puts its people at the centre of its agenda. Electrification reduces the cutting down of trees and clearing of bushes for fuel, which has a negative impact on the environment. Pohamba delivered to the audience what they wanted to hear, thereby maintaining speaker credibility as well as audience attention. Pohamba further said, “We have continually expanded our electricity

²⁴⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁴⁹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

network because access to electricity is a vital catalyst for economic activities and for trade”.²⁵⁰ It may be noted that Pohamba did this intentionally to create a good image of the government which was people-centred and aspired to the development of the country. Pohamba, therefore, also mentioned the importance of “reliable physical and communications networks” as well as the maintenance and upgrading of road and rail networks. Good communication networks mean availability of goods and services as well as boosting businesses and consequently contributing to the development of the country. Altogether, Pohamba’s political discourse created a good impression of the speaker as well as the government he was representing, and for that reason it became easy for the audience to subscribe to Pohamba’s speech. Such discourse drew the audience closer to the government as it had its people at the centre of its agenda.

In the process of highlighting the major developments that the government had achieved, the audience’s attention was maintained and allowed Pohamba to highlight areas that he felt would impact the listeners most. In the speech, he asserted “Our government has also initiated and implemented policies aimed at expanding the capacity of Namibians to produce more food for our people”.²⁵¹ Food security is a major concern for every developing nation. A hungry nation contributes nothing to the economic development and even social development of a country, so Pohamba talked about policies put in place to cater for this sector in the development of the country. Such policies go a long way to keeping the nation going and contributing towards the development of the country. Pohamba said, “Several projects have been established along our perennial rivers as well as inland”.²⁵² To prove to the audience that what he was saying was not just abstract or words said for the sake of saying them, Pohamba clearly pinpointed specific projects

²⁵⁰ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁵¹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁵² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

already up and running when he said, “Irrigation and aquaculture projects such as those at Etunda, Onavivi, Shadikongoro, Shitemo Vungu and other places have already started to supply consumers with locally grown fruits, vegetables and fish”.²⁵³ Such developments glorify independence and Pohamba mentioned them as evidence (logos) to appeal to the emotions of the audience. Such developments reinforce the delineation of independence in a reality context. Messages intended to persuade require clear claims substantiated by compelling evidence, which is why several factual examples are cited by Pohamba. His speech is authenticated by mere reference to examples that were physically on the ground and those which the audience were aware of and could even testify to. Such rhetoric strategy both pins the audience to the speech and maintains the speaker’s credibility.

Pohamba delicately and indirectly commanded his audience to commit themselves to his idea of food security projects when he said, “The success of these projects demonstrates that with hard work and dedication”.²⁵⁴ As the president and through his speech, commands were given but in an intelligent way using rhetorical strategies. Elements of ‘together words’ such as *we* and *our* are noted once more in this statement, calling for a collaborative effort towards the project, and the rhetoric strategy employed sees Pohamba and his audience as one, thus establishing a common identity as well as promoting unification. The use of the phrase “with hard work and dedication” subtly gave an order to the Namibian nation, but in verbally friendly way. This type of rhetoric strategy is aimed at strengthening bonds of communality. Pohamba added, “We can achieve our objectives of food security for all our people”²⁵⁵, using words that denote ‘kinship’ (Lim, 2002). This contention may qualify as an argument of inclusion, simply viewing Pohamba

²⁵³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁵⁴ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁵⁵ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

and his audience as equals. Through his rhetoric, Pohamba's voice envisaged a deep desire for solidarity towards the common goal concerning food security projects. As such, the audience was compelled to work towards the improvement of food security of the Namibian country.

Another area with a direct impact on the economic development of the country of Namibia is tourism. Pohamba deliberated on it as well and pointed at it when he said, "Another important sector of our economy is the tourism industry, which is one of the fastest growing sectors in the world".²⁵⁶ The tourism industry has an impact on a country's foreign earnings as well as its development, so that more tourists coming to Namibia boosts the development of the country. Giving the tourism industry attention implied that Pohamba had ideas to share with the audience that would reflect the government's positive role and how the nation was equally benefitting from the tourism industry. Pohamba said, "Here in Namibia, the sector has grown noticeably since independence and its contribution to our economy is significant".²⁵⁷ This again reflects on the importance of self-rule as the country is now benefitting from the tourism industry which was practically impossible before independence as travellers did not want to visit an at-risk, war-torn area. The use of the word "significant" shows how important the tourism industry is in Namibia and as such is given much attention. For that Pohamba goes further and asserted that:²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.*193.

²⁵⁷ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.*193.

²⁵⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.*193.

In order to harness its potential, our Government has facilitated the establishment of communal conservancies so that communities can draw financial benefits from the utilization of game in the respective localities. Many conservancies have already been gazetted and others will soon become operational (paragraph 15, line 3-6).

The above quotation reveals the strong efforts the government is making towards the sustainability of the country's economic development. Using natural resources to generate income gives much credit to the government. Also, it instils a spirit of guarding passionately against the destruction of the country's natural resources as they contribute "significantly" to the wellbeing of its people as well as the development of the country. The choice of words may be deemed a discourse of fortifying ties of loyalty and commitment on the part of the government to its people. The promise that Pohamba made regarding conservancies, where he said, "Others will soon become operational", may be delineated under deliberative rhetoric, as it makes reference to the future. The promise was bound to be received by the audience without uncertainty as speaker credibility had already been established at the beginning of the speech as well as by virtue of Pohamba being the constitutionally and lawfully elected president, such promises are bound to be acknowledged.

The interaction of the country of Namibia with the outside world was also of paramount importance and as such Pohamba made reference to the issue of foreign investment. Creating mutual business ties with foreign countries impacts positively on a country's economic development and even the social development of a country's people. With pride he stated that, "It is pleasing that our efforts to attract investments to different sectors of the economy have

borne fruit”.²⁵⁹ Pohamba was pleased to announce that foreign investment was escalating in Namibia and thus contributing positively to the expansion of the country’s economy. The expansion of the country’s economy signified the possible drop in unemployment rate as such a move brings employment to the local people in Namibia. He went further to state, “Over the years, we have witnessed an inflow of investments into our mining, manufacturing, and telecommunications and fishing sectors”.²⁶⁰ These sectors employ a huge number of locals which in turn alleviates poverty and improves the general status of people as well as contributing to the country’s economic development. Logos are noted where he made reference to areas that had made marked progress in terms of foreign investor confidence where he asserted:²⁶¹

Some of the more notable investments in the Namibian economy in recent years include the opening of the Skorpion Zinc Mine, the Langer Heinrich Mine, the Namibia Stone Processing Factory at Omaruru, and the launching of Power Com, Namibia’s second cellular network operator (paragraph, 17, line 1-4).

References to physical companies that are aligned to the foreign investors substantiate the authenticity of the speech being delivered. The speech became real and valuable, and not just a speech made for persuasion filled with empty promises. With that, speaker credibility was maintained and in turn audience attention was equally retained. In essence, Pohamba’s rhetoric skills allowed him to deliver the speech to the end with both audience attention and speaker’s credibility under his control.

²⁵⁹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶⁰ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶¹ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

Foreign investors play a major role in the development of a country's economy. Employment of locals is one of the major areas in which foreign investors play a crucial role as well as trade links with other foreign markets being established, thereby boosting the development of the country.

Other developments seen in the country that are marking the true independence of the country were the construction works taking place throughout Namibia's cities and towns, "linking this to the previously mentioned initiation on the improvement of communication networks".²⁶² This illustrates what was happening towards the development of the country and how the economy was expanding and in turn benefiting the citizens and the future generations. Such developments shows the expansion of development and the rewards of self-autonomy. This is noted where Pohamba asserted:²⁶³

We have also seen many developments in different towns across Namibia. Many new developments can be seen in the form of shopping malls, office complexes, hotels and residential property which have been built to cater for our expanding economy (paragraph, 18, line 1-3).

A fast-growing economy is, therefore, noted by such visible developments. Pohamba further stated, "Our towns and cities continue to grow, both in terms of size and in their ability to

²⁶² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

provide services to their residents”.²⁶⁴ Such expansion also impacts positively on the growth of the economy of the country. However, there seemed to be deterring factors hindering the growth in the construction of infrastructure in the country; for a balanced presentation of the Namibian status, Pohamba mentioned these factors, stating that, “This, of course is accompanied by the challenges of providing housing and employment to residents, especially those who live in informal settlements”.²⁶⁵ This points again at the Manichaean binary where there are both positive growth of towns and deterring factors hindering the growth in the construction of infrastructure that exist together to complement each other.

This is a major concern, and Pohamba had to provide a solution to it; through rhetoric, he informed the nation that the government was working on the issue and giving it consideration. This was evident from the speech where Pohamba said, “Government is seized with these challenges and is working hard in order to find appropriate solutions.”²⁶⁶ Thus Pohamba’s audience was persuaded through the speech to accept what Pohamba was laying down to be the responsibilities of the government. Thus, the audience was not left hanging regarding that issue pertaining to the housing problem in Namibia since Pohamba himself was declaring that the government was working on finding the most appropriate solutions to that problem. Furthermore, the audience already had established trust in Pohamba and the government that he was representing and as such, in the words he used in his speech. Again, Pohamba’s choice of words aide him in convincing his audience indirectly and subtly coercing them to accept his ideas. Through the speech Pohamba expressed the understanding of social reality which he was rhetorically presenting to the nation.

²⁶⁴ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶⁵ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶⁶ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

After all had been said regarding the progress and hindrances conveyed through a powerful speech presented through authentic rhetoric skills, Pohamba did not forget the manoeuvring behind all the successes of independence itself and the independence commemoration, that is, the people involved in the liberation struggle. Reference to the liberation struggle that was in the past, shows how Pohamba employed forensic rhetoric, which is concerned with past actions and how they influence the present situation. Of course, the liberation struggle that occurred in the past was the one that brought the independence that the country is enjoying today. Pohamba said, “Thousands of our fellow citizens paid the ultimate price by sacrificing their lives and shedding the precious blood for the freedom and independence that we enjoy today”.²⁶⁷ Such contributions of collaborative work towards independence is noted as selflessness on the part of those who sacrificed their lives to bring independence to Namibia. This appeals to the audience’s emotions as the courage and lives of participants in the liberation struggle resulted in the 17th Independence celebration. Through his speech, Pohamba somehow compelled the audience to link their 17th Independence Day to the lives sacrificed, prompting the audience to not just have a surface understanding of independence, but one with a deeper meaning and of significance to their lives as well. Thus, the audience was drawn into contact with their origins, and how the independence they were celebrating on that particular day came about. This appeal to the audience’s emotions (pathos) thereby linked them to the struggle itself. This was made possible through the persuasive nature of Pohamba’s speech, which was skilfully drafted, and the use of proper diction. Thus, the study reveals how communication and public discourse serve as instruments for constructing political reality.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁶⁸ Ivie, R. L. (1987). The Complete Criticism of Political Rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of speech*, 73(1), 98-107.

3.6 Impact of Major Diseases Facing the Nation

In his rhetoric, although Pohamba proudly proclaimed the strides made in the health sector with the construction and renovations of health delivering sites, he did not utter his tactful words in addressing the global and continuing question of the pandemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS. The discourse on HIV/AIDS is couched in the rhetoric of war²⁶⁹, due to the fact that HIV/AIDS may be deemed a handicap, particularly for countries like Namibia which are still developing, as it is a big hindrance, especially in areas of population growth as well as economic expansion. It remains an area of concern and a major issue, considering that no cure for the virus has been found, though there is medication available that helps in suppressing but not eliminating the condition completely. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is an issue that needs equal attention, as it equally impacts on the development of a country, both directly and indirectly. Thus, Pohamba asserted that:²⁷⁰

In order to cope with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, our Government has initiated interventions such as the provision of anti-retroviral therapy, treatment to prevent the spread of the virus from expectant mothers to their unborn children, counselling services as well as voluntary testing services (paragraph, 8 lines 2-4).

Such discourse demands and maintains attention in that, through the speech, the government and the president himself, state that they consider the issues that a nation is currently experiencing. It is not something that is abstract but rather a concern that the nation is experiencing on a daily

²⁶⁹ Behling, L.L (2014). Politics and the Pandemic: HIV/AIDS, Africa, and the Discourse of Disability: *Review of Disability Studies: An International Journal* 2(3).

²⁷⁰ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

basis, hence the government's intervention in an effort to help its people in alleviating the problem. Again, the speech proves that the government had its people at the centre of its concern. HIV/AIDS is a national concern as almost every household has been affected directly or indirectly by the pandemic. In addition, the pandemic is race- and tribe- and class-blind, as the rich and poor are equally affected and infected. Pohamba talked about the programmes put in place by the government to help and save its nation, again crediting the government for its efforts in being committed and loyal to its people's concerns. Without such initiatives, the population of a nation would crumble and it might affect many sectors in the development of the country, especially the human labour section suffering the most. Such discourse stresses the sharing of identities and advocates for solidarity in fighting together against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The pandemic becomes a common identity within the nation and for that the nation was being invited rhetorically to join hands and fight the common enemy through collaborative effort.

Even if the government of Namibia has been involved in coping with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, it appears the concern has ripple effects which are equally detrimental to the development of the country. Pohamba said, "Despite these interventions, the bad news is that, the number of orphans, whose parents succumb to the disease, is increasing".²⁷¹ Pohamba took the situation seriously and manipulated it so that the audience could be persuaded to his way of thinking through his speech and see the good engrained within the SWAPO government. Such discourse deepens its audience's identification with the government, creating a connection of values between the government and the people. Pohamba further stated, "In response, our government has introduced policies to address the plight of orphans and vulnerable children in our society

²⁷¹ Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1991). The New Rhetoric A Treatise on Argumentation: *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 1(5), 397.

through the provision of grants and other forms of assistance”.²⁷² Thus, the government stood in as a humanitarian force, as it was catering for the vulnerable members of the society and in a way creating a good image of the government through rhetoric. Also, a bond was created, meaning that the government and the community came together in fellowship towards a common goal.

3.7 Conclusion

The speech concluded with the careful choice of words as Pohamba employed elements of unity words once more in his rhetoric: “Let us work together to achieve our common vision of stronger, peaceful, united and more prosperous Namibia”²⁷³ (para, 21). For Namibia to prosper, Pohamba called for collaborative effort from the whole nation. Collaboration is one of the tenets that saw Namibia walk into true independence through the collaborative effort of the liberation struggle fighters. Again, the theme of collaboration is prevalent throughout the speech, as Pohamba made constant reference to it through using different synonyms but referring to the same issue.

What binds Namibia as one is the “common vision” that embraces the complex multilingual and multicultural context that is Namibia. The complex nature of Namibia may result in ethnic eruptions and differences that hinder the meaning of independence, as there may be social unrest in the country. Such ‘together’ words call for the audience to place special weight on what Pohamba expressed to them and to cease concentrating on differences. Pohamba persuaded the audience to “work together” towards maintaining a “peaceful, united and prosperous

²⁷² Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.*193.

²⁷³ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

Namibia”.²⁷⁴ Through the speech, Pohamba persuaded the consciousness of his respective audience and thus awakened in them a new sense of unity. Pohamba’s speech advocates for unity and does not encourage differences or individualism.

After such a powerful and persuasive statement, Pohamba ended his independence speech by stating, “With this strong belief in the bright future of Namibia, it is my honour to take this opportunity to wish you all a happy 17th Independence Anniversary.”²⁷⁵ This last statement sealed the speech by complementing the purpose and success of the speech. The speech ends on a special happy note as the independence itself was truly a ceremony worth celebrating in jubilation. Pohamba did not only exhibit profound oratorical skills, but revealed passion about Namibia’s independence. Thus, as the orator and the independence vanguard, he took that closing statement of his speech to be the most appropriate occasion to wish the nation “a happy 17th Independence Anniversary”.

²⁷⁴ Pohamba, H. (2007), *ibid.* 193.

²⁷⁵ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

CHAPTER 4

HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA'S RHETORIC OF DEMOCRACY :

Namibia's 18th Independence Anniversary in Windhoek

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a rhetorical analysis of President Hifikepunye Pohamba's speech which he delivered on the occasion of Namibia's 18th Independence Anniversary Celebration on 21 March 2008. In the analysis, the study unfolds the intricate issues contained in the speech, as well as the connotative insinuations delivered from the speech. Pohamba's speech made conspicuous appeals to a unity of purpose, peace and stability, improvement of human dignity through social cooperation, political accountability, transparency, honesty, patriotism and effective diplomatic cooperation as these are the only ways Namibia will eventually emerge as a winning nation among the community of nations.

Finally, the chapter shows how Pohamba used epideictic rhetoric in his speech to continue shaping Namibian democracy. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969, p. 50) assert that "epideictic oratory has significance and importance for argumentation because it strengthens the disposition towards action by increasing adherence to the values it lauds."²⁷⁶

Moreover, the analysis established that President Pohamba's speech is visibly delineated from

²⁷⁶ Perelman, Chaim and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

the past, present and future of Namibia by creating an inextricable link and connection of various but relevant issues of history to emphasise his arguments. During the delivery of his speech, as will be explained in greater detail in this chapter, President Pohamba presented himself as a virtuous president whose ability to unite the past, the present and projecting the future was remarkable. In pursuit of the culture of presidential rhetoric, this chapter demonstrates that besides providing mere political pronouncement, President Pohamba's speech managed to provide a transparent catalogue of the government achievements that add value and rational appeal to his arguments.

4.2 A Rhetoric of Silence

President Pohamba began his speech by asking the audience to observe a minute of silence, in honour of the late John Alfons Pandeni, a Namibian liberation struggle hero who had recently died in a car accident. Rhetoric of silence can be as powerful as that of a speech, in the sense that the virtue of silence is an ontological principle that resonates in language and its power in delivering meaning in religion²⁷⁷. President Pohamba's 18th Independence Anniversary speech used the minute of silence rhetoric for two significant reasons: firstly, to show the president's exclusive accommodation and respect for the religious diversity among his audience, who had otherwise dissimilar religious persuasions in the manner they respect the dead, thus a minute of silence could not be misinterpreted. The second implication of that minute of silence was to invoke a feeling of pathos within the inner conscience of audiences.

²⁷⁷ Glenn, C. (2004). *Unspoken. A Rhetoric of Silence*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Furthermore, the rhetoric of silence functions as a tool to communicate. In this regard, President Pohamba made use of this 'situation', as it provided the best available means of persuasion (Bitzer, 1968, p. 6). Since, it is a tradition that a moment of silence is a gesture of respect in mourning someone dead. As such, the study reveals the importance of the emotional appeal (pathos) in communication, which is widely believed to be an effective way of communicating directly to the heart and conscience of audiences.

In his definition of the silence, Glen (2004, p. 4) asserts that silence is not simply what happens when we stop talking. It is more than the mere negative renunciation of language and is more than a condition that we can produce at will. Furthermore, Glen clarifies that silence and language work together, each shaping and generating the other in a natural dynamism of meaning (p. 6). Tactic silence, into which 'minute of silence' can be categorised, signifies as expressive and strategic an instrument of human communication as speech itself. Equally, Farrell (2005, p. 124) asserts that "the rhetoric of silence is a study of language that demonstrates how rhetoric can communicate, persuade and generate understanding".²⁷⁸ Moreover, emotional appeals are synthetically connected to people's daily needs, thus, President Pohamba used numerous appeals to emotions through verbal tactics as supplementary to pathos. His consistent appeals to emotions were directly inspired by a strong desire to connect his audience to his message as it appears in his assertion as follows:²⁷⁹

At the very outset, I would like to kindly request you to rise, so that we can all observe a minute of silence in honour of the late Comrade John Alfons Pandeni who passed away in

²⁷⁸ Farrell M. J. C (2005). A Rhetoric of Silence. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 35(4) 123-127.

²⁷⁹ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

a tragic vehicle accident on 14 March 2008 (I thank you, you may be seated) (paragraph 1, line 1-3).

This request by President Pohamba to observe a moment of silence was a gesture of respect to the late Comrade Alfons Pandeni. This invoked sympathy and appealed to the audience's emotions.

Moreover, Pohamba's message reached his intended universal audience through influence of his argument. In contrast, in ancient Greece, public speakers had to deliver their speeches from a podium in the open air, whereby their messages reached only a "particular audience", mostly those within the hearing distance. It is worth noting that the president's argument was "developed in relation to audiences and that audience is the measures of an argument"²⁸⁰. Therefore, during that moment of silence, the audiences were compelled to reminisce, through their emotional attachments to the deceased, the good deeds and the great legacy that Comrade Pandeni left for the country. The audience was for a moment emotionally compelled to compose a delicate obituary of what Pandeni, as one revered cadre of the SWAPO Party, did for the country. With this, Pohamba showed how minutes of silence signify as an expressive and strategic instrument of human communication as speech itself (Glenn 2004, p. 6)²⁸¹. Therefore, silence is as important as speech through its own complementary rhetoric.

²⁸⁰ Crosswhite, J. (1989). Universality in Rhetoric: Perelman's universal audience. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 22(1), 157-173.

²⁸¹ Glenn, C. (2004). *Unspoken. A Rhetoric of Silence*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

4.3 Rhetorical Tradition

By exhibiting goodwill and dynamism Pohamba introduced his speech by revealing the commonplace features of Southern Africa's decolonization rhetoric as follows:²⁸²

Today, we celebrate the 18th Anniversary of the attainment of our nationhood. As we gather here today, we recall the heartening events of that historic day, when we hoisted our flag of freedom and sovereignty for the first time. We recall how we celebrated the lowering of apartheid flag of oppression, in the knowledge that it would never again fly as a symbol of authority over our country. The events of that historic day are still vivid in our memories (paragraph 2, line 1-5).

Pohamba's utterance above presents a delicate piece of rhetorical persuasion in an endeavour to invoke a symbolic memory and 'analogy' of the historical journey that Namibia succumbed to in the hands of colonisers and apartheid. In those past days, the widespread poverty and some general deterioration in the standard of living of the Africans were imposed on them by colonisers. While Namibia attained independence on 21 March 1990, other southern African countries, with the exception of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique had long been decolonised and brought under national government (Mashingaidze, 1981, p. 25)²⁸³, after they had experienced colonialism, they had later "decolonised", a process leading to the end of colonial rule (Saunders, 2017 p. 13).²⁸⁴ The independence of Namibia in 1990 closed the long

²⁸² Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

²⁸³ Mashingaidze, F.K (1981). *The Decolonisation of Africa: Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The Role for Liberation Movements in the Struggle for Southern Africa*. Paris: Imprimerie Tardy Quercy.

²⁸⁴ Saunders, C. (2017). Decolonization in Southern Africa: reflections on the Namibian and the South African cases. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 42(1), 99-114.

decolonisation process that had started in Asia after the Second World War, while in Africa it began in 1957 with the independence of Ghana or the “Gold Coast” (Saunders, 2017 p. 103)²⁸⁵.

By employing epideictic rhetoric, Pohamba expressed the praise value of “nationalism” that the country of Namibia experienced that had resulted from the process of transformation from colonial power into becoming an independent state. Moreover, Pohamba’s words brought back memories of the past, at the same time presenting the beauty, tranquillity and serene atmosphere that independence brought to the Namibia people. Zarefsky (2004) highlights that analogies in political rhetoric are specifically created by the rhetors to compel their audiences to reflect on past incidences and make comparisons that sway their perspectives and opinions of the current situations. Pohamba juxtaposed the oppressive apartheid episode with the post-independence political dispensation to illuminate the need to appreciate and celebrate the current political stability²⁸⁶ and in a way, provided an assurance of continued peace, stability and growth of Namibia as a united nation. His continual use of the word *we* inculcated a spirit of togetherness and unity among the audience. His speech therefore sought to bring the people of Namibia together as one people who share the common history, aspirations, yearnings, and dreams.

In this exordium part of the speech, Pohamba persuaded his audience according to the four functions the exordium of the speech predominantly serves. It helps to "establish the reliability of the message conveyed, enables the speaker to concentrate on the objective of the speech, helps to create an intimate relationship with the audience, and more importantly, it gains the audience's

²⁸⁵ Saunders, C. (2017). Decolonization in Southern Africa: reflections on the Namibian and the South African cases. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 42(1), 99-114.

²⁸⁶ Zarefsky, D. (2004), Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34(3), 607-619.

attention” (Cohen, 1983 p. 82-83).²⁸⁷

It is important for the speaker to stimulate a listening mood among the audience through anecdotal introductions. Anecdotes are remarkably circumstantial, depending on the speaker, setting and audience. President Pohamba employed anecdotes in his 18th Independence anniversary speech in order to instil in the audience the common value of celebrating their independence. For instance, the apartheid period was brutal and shameful to all Namibians, and the scars it left will take generations to heal. Consequently, the president used an anecdote to highlight the importance of celebrating their independence. Furthermore, this introduction was appropriate to the audience and the occasion as it was relevant to the topic. It helped Pohamba appear spur-of-the-moment and helped him gain audience attention and interest. Anecdotal introductions are the quickest technique to establish community and they quickly paint the personality of the speaker.

After a pause, President Pohamba went on to explain that the Namibian people ‘celebrated the lowering of apartheid flag of oppression, in the knowledge that it would never again fly as a symbol of authority over our country.’²⁸⁸ This introduction could also be categorised as an astounding, as he compelled the audience to pay attention to what he had to say. Accordingly, Pohamba delineated the purpose of his speech. In doing so, he created a natural transition into the body of his speech. In every presidential rhetoric there is a common aspect that most rhetoricians use to create a swift transition from their introductory remarks into their main

²⁸⁷ Cohen J. (1983). Academic Journal Article. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33 (2) 42-170).

²⁸⁸ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

ideas.²⁸⁹ The following paragraph provides a good example in which President Pohamba transitioned from his introductory remarks by creating an element of suspense and appetite for more among his audiences. He asserted:²⁹⁰

We can look back with pride at the many successes that were achieved after independence in many areas of social and economic development. We are proud, and rightly so, of the peace and stability that our country has enjoyed since that joyful day of 21 March 1990 (paragraph 2, line 6-8).

In persuasive speeches, this technique is important in order to gain the attention of the audience and let them expect more. Ceaser et al. (1981) assert that rhetoricians employ the art of creating suspense and appetite for more information, explanations and detail from their audiences. By so doing, they canvass the attention and anxieties of their audiences to their messages. They also help the rhetor to create a catalogue of his ideas in the ensuing paragraphs of the speech.²⁹¹

4.4 Values of Freedom and Liberty in Pohamba's Rhetoric

Freedom is a condition of not being a slave. However, freedom from slavery is more than a merely instrumental good. In terms of politics, slavery is inconsistent with self-sufficiency. Freedom cannot be either a simple absence of constraining or a positive capacity, but must rather

289 Kallenbach, J. (1966). *The American Chief Executive*. New York: Harper & Row.

290 Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 283.

291 Ceaser, J, Thurow, G. E., Tulis, J., & Bessette, J. M. (1981). The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 11, 158-171.

be uneasy, much like conscience.²⁹² Namibian independence brought freedom, with the core values characterised by free expression of ideas, rights to participate in politics and elect leaders of one's choice. These are core values that promote democracy in Namibia. However, Nujoma (1997) defined freedom as “the second phase of our struggle”²⁹³ whereby all Namibians must recommit themselves to working hard and build a Namibia where everyone may enjoy a better quality of life in freedom and independence. This phase deals with fighting against poverty, hunger, crime, diseases and ignorance. Therefore, this struggle will not be easy.

President Pohamba particularly employed the rhetoric of liberty for the purposes of drawing his audiences to the realities of independence vis á vis the oppression and ostracism of the colonial past. This in a way was befitting to the occasion in which Pohamba’s speech was delivered. As asserted by Bitzer (1968, p. 3), “The presence of rhetorical discourse indicates the presence of a rhetorical situation.”²⁹⁴

Pohamba’s rhetoric in the following paragraph defines the above observations:²⁹⁵

Freedom and independence have in many ways unleashed the potential of our people who have taken advantage of their liberty to make a tangible contribution to the development of our country. Many of those who were denied opportunities by apartheid tyranny are today contributing meaningfully in shaping a brighter future for the Land of the Brave (paragraph 3, line 1-4).

²⁹² Allen, I. J. (2015). Rhetorical Personhood, and Democracy’s ongoing Constitution. *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*, 18, (2) 195-215.

²⁹³ Nujoma, S. (1996). 16th Independence Anniversary Address by His Excellency President Sam Nujoma: Windhoek.

²⁹⁴ Bitzer, L. F. (1981). Political Rhetoric. In D. D. Nimmo & K. R. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Communication* (pp. 225-248). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

²⁹⁵ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

By this, Pohamba insinuated that freedom and independence enabled the youths as resemblances of the future of Namibia, to embrace new opportunities for economic development. Pohamba's rhetoric further reinforced the power of freedom and independence in the empowerment of the indigenous Namibian people. Pohamba's use of the freedom and independence rhetoric followed Cohen's (1983) assertions that "effective presidential speeches must connect the audience with their past, present and future, and instill patriotic understanding of history and national vision among audiences (p. 115)."²⁹⁶

In support, Vickers and Johnston (2001, p. 588) argue that presidential rhetoric should be accompanied by a "carefully crafted and strategic diction".²⁹⁷ As such, presidential rhetoric relies on the craftsmanship the president's speechwriters or 'ghost-writers'²⁹⁸. It is important to note that presidents consistently spend a great deal of time editing speech drafts prepared by their speechwriters, and as soon as the presidents speak the words, they take full ownership of them. This is the case with President Pohamba's rhetoric. The speechwriters just polish the style of the message but the whole set of ideas, arguments and values are a reflection of the thoughts of the speaker, President Pohamba. Moreover, the speechwriters and president frame a message that is consistent with the administration's broad goal and specific policy initiatives. The message must also satisfy the audience and their expectation.²⁹⁹

In his 18th Independence anniversary speech, President Pohamba's choice of words resonated

²⁹⁶ Cohen, P. 1983. *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*. New York: Oxford UP.

²⁹⁷ Vickers, B. and C. L. Johnstone (2001). 'Rhetoric and Philosophy' and "Perennial Topics and Terms." In *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁹⁸ Cathcart, R. S. (1981). *Post-communication: Rhetorical Analysis and Evaluation*. Bobbs-Merrill Educational Pub.

²⁹⁹ Ritter, K. & Medhurst, M. (2004). *Presidential Speechwriting: From the New Deal to the Reagan Revolution*. Texas A&M University Press.

with the independence and freedom themes, grammatically spot-on but peculiarly designed to create political dividends in the face of an impending election. President Pohamba asserted that:³⁰⁰

Many of those who were denied opportunities by apartheid tyranny are today contributing meaningfully in shaping a brighter future for the Land of the Brave (paragraph 3, line 4-5)

As we sing that our democracy is maturing, the “born-frees” will as from this year for the first time be able to exercise their democratic right of participating in elections at different levels (paragraph 4, line 5-6).

In these two instances, President Pohamba made reference to the new political dispensation that had brought meaningful freedom to all the people in Namibia. Firstly, the President employed logos by referring to the fact that the fall of apartheid came as a proverbial relief to all progressive Namibians. This relief brought with it opportunities to contribute immensely in ushering a brighter future for all Namibians. Secondly, he used hyperbole in the phrase “Land of the Brave”, which is a reflection of the first line of the national anthem of the Republic of Namibia.³⁰¹ This metaphor appeals to the emotions of the audience, by instilling a sense of pride and it exaggerated the emphasis Pohamba placed on the national identity of the Namibian people. Aristotle (2007, p. 200) asserts that the visual efficacy of metaphors possesses energy

³⁰⁰ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³⁰¹ Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (2nd ed), (2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.

(*Energia*), action and motion.³⁰²

By employing epideictic rhetoric, Pohamba praised the Namibian youth more specifically the new generation of voters, the youths, who had just attained eligibility to vote when he asserted that as we sing that our democracy is maturing, the 'born frees' 'will as from this year for the first time be able to exercise their democratic right of participating in elections at different levels.'³⁰³ In other words, the juxtaposition of the excruciating apartheid epoch and a peaceful, stable and accommodating post-independence dispensation had been especially made by Pohamba to give an awakening to the youth of the need to safeguard the liberation mandate of SWAPO through exercising their democratic right to vote, and by implication, for the SWAPO party since it is the ruling party. In his speech, President Pohamba associated history and victory for independence with the SWAPO party, not principally because the party was the decolonising force that saw Namibia attaining independence, but his perception of Namibian politics. This goes hand in hand with Zarefsky's (2004, p. 613) assertion that "rhetoric is not only an alleged cause of shifts in audience attitudes. It is also a reflection of a president's values and worldview".³⁰⁴

4.5 The Rhetoric of National Pride

President Pohamba made concerted efforts to highlight a number of achievements that the SWAPO government had made possible during its tenure in office since independence. Among these attempts were his passionate reference to peace and stability that Namibia had enjoyed over

³⁰² Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A theory of civic discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³⁰³ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³⁰⁴ Zarefsky, D. (2004). Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (3), 607-619.

years. This, among others, is one example of President Pohamba's powerful social rhetoric, a "rhetoric of national pride".³⁰⁵ To President Pohamba, this was a significant political development that Namibian people must revere and respect as well as celebrate. The following extract from Pohamba's speech helps illuminate this observation.³⁰⁶

The peace and political stability that our country has enjoyed over the years is one of the major achievements of our country and fitting tribute to the fallen heroes and heroines of our revolution whose blood waters our freedom (paragraph 5, line 1-3).

By crediting the peace and political stability that the country had enjoyed for some time, Pohamba gave prominence to political development as something that the Namibian people must consider important and cherish. In his insinuations, the president indirectly inferred that political stability and peace are key ingredients to socio-economic development. In this way, President Pohamba urged his audience to appreciate the prevailing peace and stability as keys that help unlock potential and synergies for the development of the nation. Accordingly, Pohamba drew up a list of government achievements to support his innuendos. In a way, President Pohamba's speech contained features of political campaigns for the SWAPO Party rather than being a mere policy - a campaign to retain power. In this way, a president can use his speech to articulate government policies to demonstrate what they are aware of and to let their audience know that they are doing something about it.

Zarefsky (2002, p. 20) asserts that "a presidency has always been a place for rhetorical

³⁰⁵ Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

³⁰⁶ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

leadership.”³⁰⁷ As a modern president, Pohamba’s presidency was based on words; therefore, Pohamba was compelled to defend national interests against special interest. Although this might be regarded as a “rote speech”, it is worth noting that rhetoric offered President Pohamba the opportunity to obtain more power. Pohamba used the independence anniversary situation to exercise this power vested in him by the majority of the audience by reporting on the good progress the government had made. The following excerpts validate this:³⁰⁸

Access to education has been expanded in all parts of the country. Literacy and numerous levels have increased (paragraph 6, line 1-2).

Moreover, physical and communication infrastructures have reached even the remote parts of the country (paragraph 7, line 1-2).

Telephone connectivity has grown with both fixed lines and cellular communications (paragraph 8, line 1-2).

This shows Pohamba’s appeal to the values of freedom and progress influenced by the need to address the reality on the ground as far as government policy and programmers are concerned. These are praising values which give the speech more features of epideictic rhetoric as Aristotle (2007, p. 244) asserts that "in epideictic one should interweave the speech with praise".³⁰⁹ This reinforced Pohamba’s positive character and built his credibility as a president, as it conveyed respect and trustworthiness. This also made the audience believe that Pohamba had the ability and responsibility to lead the country forward. Moreover, this was also one way Pohamba’s rhetoric advocated how he fulfilled his duty, that of defending Namibian’s interests and

³⁰⁷ Zarefsky, D. (2002). *The Presidency Has Always Been A Place for Rhetorical Leadership*. In L. G. Dorsey (Ed.), *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership* (pp. 20-41). College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press.

³⁰⁸ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³⁰⁹ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

sovereignty.

4.6 The Argument about Rationality, Unity, Nationhood and Progressive Cooperation

President Pohamba acted as a unifier and a national leader whose aspirations were to bring the Namibian people together as one people regardless of their race, gender, political affiliation and backgrounds. In his speech, Pohamba asserted that “This year, our Independence Anniversary celebration is coinciding with the inauguration of the new State House, a symbol of our nationhood and sovereignty”.³¹⁰

At this juncture, President Pohamba precisely chose the term ‘nationhood’ as symbol of national unity. He insinuated that the ‘new State House’ was an embodiment of a shared identity and culture of the Namibian people. The term ‘nationhood’ was rhetorically employed by President Pohamba to create an impression of shared aspirations as well as history in an endeavour to create a feeling of connection and attachment to his audience. Sovereignty, in this case, in Pohamba’s rhetoric brought a sense of emotional and political detachment from the remnants of the colonial era. In other words, the new State House presented an essential step towards giving the Namibian people total autonomy and authority over their own destiny. The old State House was a resemblance of a lingering existence of colonial oppression; its squalid state and lack of spaciousness, as President Pohamba asserted in paragraph 16 of his speech, had a suffocating effect on effective service delivery by the government, thus a new State House ushered in a new chapter of nation-building and political efficiency.

For the purposes of making a rational appeal to the audience, presidential rhetoric employed the

³¹⁰ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

technique of ethos. Aristotle (2007, p. 3) provides a functional definition of ethos that proffers an interesting analytical guidance to this study. Aristotle (2007) defines ethos as an “artistic means of persuasion, which includes the presentation of the speaker's character.”³¹¹

Moreover, about ethos, Aristotle (1954, I.ii 4) asserts that “the speaker’s character manifests in the speech itself. This is achieved by what the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible”³¹². We believe good men more fully and more readily than others. Pohamba’s audiences (both immediate and distant) could easily be persuaded by his speech as he was the country’s president. Aristotle further asserts that the speaker’s character manifests in the speech itself. This is achieved by what the speaker says, not what people think of the speaker. This, in the case of Pohamba whose audience consisted of certain individuals who belonged to the SWAPO party and those who belonged to other official parties, would both be persuaded. Although a portion of the audience who belonged to opposition parties might disagree with Pohamba’s argument in the speech, due to their political differences, Pohamba’s character as the country’s president would persuade them. The ethical appeal relied largely on what Pohamba chose to speak, for example, the state housing project was a crucial issue or an issue of concern to all Namibian citizens, irrespective of their political affiliation. Thus, Pohamba’s invention enabled the speech to successfully persuade the audience.

Pohamba considered the needs and interest of his audience in the sense that after he had noticed the nation’s disapproval of the government’s initiative to build a new seat for the Presidency as

³¹¹ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³¹² Aristotle, ., Roberts, W. R., Bywater, I., In Solmsen, F., & Aristotle, (1954). *Rhetoric*. New York: Modern Library.

an incorrect priority, he adroitly and carefully appealed to his audiences with a logical explanation of the rationality with which the government of Namibia under President Sam Nujoma had chosen to implement the project. He asserted his defence as follows:³¹³

[A] few years ago, [a] decision was taken to construct a new seat for the Namibian Presidency. The construction site was handed over to the Mansudae Overseas Projects Group from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 2002 (paragraph 12, line 1-3).

During the construction period about forty local companies were engaged as sub-contractors. The sub-contractors were assigned work such as electrical installation and air conditioning, among others. Plant and equipment were also hired from local suppliers and hundreds of jobs were created.³¹⁴

Moreover, the speaker's choice about the invention is important in classical terms, for example in order to persuade the audience, the speaker's character was manifest in stylistic choice (Sullivan, 2004, p. 114)³¹⁵. Pohamba portrayed himself as a person of goodwill, good sense and good moral character, especially with his expressions in relation to the State House project.

The project had been widely viewed by Namibians as controversial because the construction task was given to a Korean company, Mansudae Overseas Projects Group, instead of local

³¹³ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³¹⁴ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 308.

³¹⁵ Sullivan, D. L (1993). The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter: *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 26(2) 113-133.

companies. The Namibians questioned the rationale of contracting a foreign company for the project rather than hiring local companies.³¹⁶ Thus, Pohamba's 2008 speech attempted to rectify these discrepancies by explaining the gains that the project created for the people of Namibia, among them employment and skills.

Furthermore, in this speech, Pohamba expressed his concern about the lamentable state of the State residence and how it had become a hindrance to effective service delivery and efficiency of state officials.³¹⁷

There have been some concerns raised about the timing or even the need for this project. In this regard, I wish to say that this is a national asset which belongs to no one else but the people of Namibia. It is a project that has to be completed as part of our institution-building strategy for our country (paragraph 15, line 1-4).

For those who are not aware, the office space in the existing State House, from where Namibian President has operated since independence, is very inadequate. As a result, officials are crammed into small offices, while others are forced to share these small spaces. Surely, such a situation is not conducive to effective execution of important duties that these officials are charged with (paragraph 16, line 1-4).

Pohamba informed his audience that the priority to construct the State House was a pertinent gesture that all the people of Namibia must embrace and support. Through his assurance that the

³¹⁶ Namibia: 'State House Cost Yet to Be Ascertained' - allAfrica.com allafrica.com/stories/200804170634.html. Accessed on the 10 October 2017.

³¹⁷ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by His Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

project was a national asset, he tried to build a sense of patriotism and connection among the audiences and by so doing, instilling some sense of belonging and possession in his audience.

Pohamba's rhetoric emphasised the importance of the new State House and thus persuaded through arguments. Aristotle (2007, p. 39) asserts that "persuasion occurs through the arguments (logoi) when we show the truth or the apparent truth from whatever is persuasive in each case.³¹⁸

Therefore, by presenting the government report to the audience, Pohamba employed the rhetoric of logos. Pohamba's rhetoric can be categorised as the 'verdict', the type of rhetorical performative, as it involved the process of gaining. Furthermore, this is a feature of deliberative rhetoric whereby the "rhetoric employed a practical wisdom leading to a clear understanding of expediency."³¹⁹

Pohamba drew from history to show precedents pertinent to the proposed action and made sure that no stone was left unturned.

The project was also, as President Pohamba highlighted, an addition "to the list of other capital projects that have been successfully implemented by our SWAPO Party Government."³²⁰ The new State House, 'the people's house,'³²¹ is an embodiment of a monumental symbol from the remnants of the colonial legacy. The transferal from the old State House that was built by the colonisers to a new State House that captured the nature, culture and true "Namibian character"³²², represents a paradigm shift from a colonial system of government to a purely indigenous system of government built upon the efforts, wishes and desires of the Namibian people.

³¹⁸ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³¹⁹ Beale, W. H. (1978). Rhetorical performative discourse: A new theory of epideictic. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 11(4), 221-246.

³²⁰ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³²¹ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 315.

³²² Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 315.

4.7 The Rhetorical Appeals to Emotions, Empathy and Fear

According to Aristotle (2007) “of the three means of effecting persuasion, the man who is to be in command of them must understand the emotions that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are executed”.³²³ Presidential appeals to emotions of their audiences have been proved effective in winning audiences' emotional support. Emotive issues have a stronger appeal to the audience than rational issues.³²⁴

In his 2008 Independence anniversary address, President Pohamba appealed to the emotions and empathy of the audiences, when he responded to reports on floods which had devastated and displaced thousands of ‘compatriot’ Namibian citizens:³²⁵

As we celebrate this joyful occasion of our 18th Independence Anniversary, our thoughts are with the thousands of our compatriots who have been displaced by the floods in the north and northeast of our country. The flood has divested many communities and destroyed valuable properties and assets. The livelihoods and source of income of many people have been destroyed. Our Government is monitoring the flood situation closely and continuously (paragraph 20, line 1-5).

In Pohamba’s above utterances, he rhetorically used the reference to the victims of floods to invoke a feeling of empathy within his audience, at the same appealing to the audience that his

³²³ Aristotle. (2007). *ibid.* 313.

³²⁴ Charles W. Kneupper and Floyd D. Anderson, "Uniting Wisdom and Eloquence: The Need for Rhetorical Invention," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 66 (1980), 313-326.

³²⁵ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

government had people at heart and that the welfare of the people was at the heart of the government. He also, by implication, emphasised that every Namibian had a role to play in assisting the flood victims. This can be evidenced or proved by his use of the terms ‘our Government’ and ‘our thoughts’. Moreover, Pohamba employed the rhetoric of empathy to appeal to his audience's emotions as well as incorporating the appeal to unity in the sense that he expressed concern about the victims and regarded the problem of the floods as a national issue that must be dealt with collectively, since any problem shared is a problem halved. This is how the “consideration of the emotions of people in the audience”³²⁶ (p.15) is important. To drive home his appeal, Pohamba asserted that:³²⁷

We have already started to implement rescue operation to take the affected people to safety and provide them with food, medicines and water purification tablets. The impact of the flood is going to be devastating for our country, especially in terms of the destruction of infrastructures such as houses, schools, clinics, businesses and roads. A few weeks ago, I declared the flood situation in our country a national disaster. We are going to work tirelessly to ameliorate the impact of the floods (paragraph 21, line 1-6).

As can be seen in the above paragraph, President Pohamba employed negative diction to inculcate and build a sense of urgency and fear among his audience in order to stress the need for immediate and concerted efforts to address the flood challenge as a national problem and not an individual calamity.

³²⁶ Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³²⁷ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 220.

Lastly, it is worth noting that Ceremonial speech involves a “speaker’s praising or blaming in regard to existing qualities, but also reminding the audience of the past and projecting the course of the future”³²⁸. Pohamba’s rhetoric shows the natural link between epideictic and character (ethos) in the sense that “the epideictic speaker must be able to praise and censure while at the same time portraying a character that does not appear to be that of flatter or cynic”³²⁹ Pohamba persuaded the audience by exhibiting the ethos of Nujoma by praising and appreciating his effort, especially with the State House project. The term ‘ethos’ is extended to cover the character and actions of the speaker and his appearance, style of delivery and mode”³³⁰ Pohamba took his time decorating the character of the former president and inescapably presented himself as a resemblance of Nujoma from whose footsteps he found inspiration and guidance. He expressed eulogies to President Nujoma in a way that would have a strong appeal to the audience who were supporters of the former revolutionary icon. The following paragraph illustratively shows Pohamba’s efforts in this regard:³³¹

Your devotion to nation building and infrastructure development is admired by all patriotic citizens of our Republic. I want to assure you that the present leadership of our SWAPO PARTY Government will continue to build on the strong foundation that has already been laid under your leadership (paragraph 10, line 1-4).

To conclude this section, the study emphasises, in addition to the importance of the appeal of

³²⁸ Yoos, G. E. (1979). A Revision of the Ethical Appeal: *Philosophy & Rhetoric*. 12(1) 41-45.

³²⁹ Sullivan, D. L. (1993). The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter: *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 26(2) 113-133.

³³⁰ Yoos, G. E. (1979). *ibid.* 323.

³³¹ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek

ethos discussed earlier, that Pohamba's rhetoric in the paragraph above shows that "ethos is not primarily an attribute of the speaker, not even an audience perception: it is instead a common dwelling place of both the timeless consubstantial space that enfolds participants in epideictic exchange"³³² (p. 127).

4.8 Pohamba's Stylistic Values

Numerous literary techniques such as sentence structure, elocution, figurative language, grammatical conventions and tropes, constitute techniques that presidential speechwriters use to literally decorate and add stylistic value to their speeches.

In presidential speeches, tropes are fundamentally used under the pretext of making the speech more persuasive. However, in the case of the Namibian presidency whereby speeches are delivered in English by the President, this must have a negative implication on the speaker's ethos. The fact that English is the official language in Namibia does not qualify all the audience to understand it, and this prevented the majority of the audience – most of whom had elected the President into power – from having access to the president's message. This, therefore, created a negative impact between the speaker and the audience, in the sense that it damaged Pohamba's ethos, as his audience could not fully understand the message in his speech, and in a way they would not feel related to the speaker.

Furthermore, presidential speech writers trope for the purposes of making an appeal to the

³³² Sullivan, D. L (1993). The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter: *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 26(2), 113-133.

audience's imagination and to paint vivid pictures in the audience's minds. Thus, President Pohamba tropified in a number of ways in his 2008 speech such as:

... whose blood waters our freedom.³³³

The transcription above illuminates a remarkable instance in which President Pohamba tropified in a way to elaborate how the selfless sacrifice of the blood of the sons and daughters of Namibia paid an ultimate price in ushering in the freedom and independence that the people were celebrating on that occasion. This use of a trope here was principally considered to amplify the significance of celebrating independence which came as a consequence of sacrifices and a brutal war. In other words, Pohamba tried to create a nationalistic and patriotic spirit that would inescapably conflate the audience with their historical background, thus making them appreciate and cherish the significant role that their leaders, in SWAPO and elsewhere, played for the emancipation of their country. Moreover, Pohamba deliberately used that trope "whose blood waters our freedom" as the rhetoric of common ground, since that same trope is used in the Namibian national anthem. This means audience would appreciate and understand the meaning of the trope, and to elaborate more, the word 'waters' is the verb in the sentence which literally means irrigating, therefore the phrase "whose blood waters our freedom" in other words means the blood of Namibian heroes and heroines was shed for and irrigated the freedom to be realised.

President Pohamba metaphorically described the youth as 'flourishing' and 'blossoming'³³⁴ as a representation of a brighter future for Namibia. Metaphors are an important characteristic of

³³³ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³³⁴ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 315.

persuasive discourse because they mediate between the conscious and unconscious means of persuasion thus, they are central to legitimisation in political speech.

The essence of Pohamba's metaphors is to instil or inculcate a sense of importance among the youth that they are the backbone of the country. By giving the youth some sense of value and esteemed support, Pohamba was somehow seeking political mileage, popularity or relevance amongst the youths through the use of these infectious metaphors. Taking into cognisance the fact that 2008 was an election year, in which President Pohamba was seeking re-election into his second term, his overwhelming eulogies for the youth could be considered an important slogan.

President Pohamba employed personification in his 18th Independence anniversary. Kahn (1985, p. 73) defines personification as the "act of giving human quality to inanimate or non-human objects." Kahn (1985) points out that personification of non-human objects or non-human aspects gives human prominence to the object that is being referred to giving the human quality.³³⁵ It gives the subject that the orator is talking about an esteemed position. President Pohamba personified the two countries Namibia and Korea, by giving them a human quality when he said "Your presence here, Your Excellency, is a re-affirmation of the strong bonds of friendship and co-operation that so happily exist between our two countries and peoples."³³⁶

For the purposes of re-affirming and enlivening the existence of strong bilateral relations and socio-economic synergy between Namibia and Korea, Pohamba implied a human quality between the two countries as friends. He even went further to allege that the cooperation between

³³⁵ Kahn, V. A. (1985). *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

³³⁶ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

the two countries was indeed a 'happy' one. The effect of these personifications was directly to create and perpetuate a filial or brotherly diplomatic relationship between the two countries. The pronouncements also had an inherent effect on the audience as they enlightened them of the strong bonds that existed between the two countries as well as allowing them to recognise the mutual benefits associated with partnering Korea and its peoples.

Conley (1990, p. 326) defines repetition in rhetoric as "a continuous reference to a subject for emphasis."³³⁷ Conley (1990) further illustrates that the need for repetition in rhetorical works is a design that rhetors often use to create an echo in the minds of their audiences of the messages they want to convey. It is often believed that the more often something is said, even if it is a lie, the more it appeals to inner ears of the audience and creates a memory. There are many visible replications in President Pohamba's speech which were intentionally employed to stress and drive his ideas home. Pohamba's speech labelled his government more often as 'our SWAPO government' as a way of infectiously connecting the SWAPO government with his audience.

His repetitive reference to the youth as 'born-frees' had an imperative impact of enticing the youths to believe and appreciate the many sacrifices that the fallen heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle did for them. The repetitive emphasis of the term 'born-frees',⁶⁵ was meant to stimulate a political consciousness within the minds and hearts of the youths to safeguard the benefits which came, consequentially as a result of a protracted and brutal liberation war by positively contributing to the socio-economic and political development of Namibia. Pohamba's ensuing statement that 'born-frees' were faced with a historic opportunity to exercise, for the

³³⁷ Conley, T. (1990). *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*. New York: Longman.

first time, ‘their democratic right of participating in elections at different levels’ was an indirect appeal for the youths to vote for the SWAPO Party in appreciation of its role in giving them the freedom they were enjoying as people ‘born into a society free from war, victimisation, intimidation, racial discrimination and oppression.’³³⁸ Pohamba’s rhetoric gave the youth a reason to vote for the SWAPO Party as the party that liberated them.

In the full knowledge of the mixed and antagonistic perceptions that the people of Namibia had of the new seat of the Presidency, Pohamba relentlessly referred to the new State House as ‘the peoples’ house.’ Through this, Pohamba was consistently appealing for attachment, acceptance and an affiliation of the project with the people of Namibia. This refrain had an impact of creating an inward impression among the audience that they, as the people of Namibia, owned the new State House. The replications would give the project a national impression and legitimacy among the audience by driving out the underlying assumption that the project was, and only, a sole benefit for the presidency and not the generality of the citizens.

Another interesting phrase that President Pohamba so affectionately and cyclically used in his speech was his continued reference to the people of Namibia as “our people”³³⁹. This, technically, gives the audience a feeling of being accommodated, regardless of their diverse identities and persuasions, into a common family as one people under one leader. At the same time, President Pohamba presented himself as a father figure who believed that Namibia does not belong to an individual but to everybody who believes in a common destination and a shared aspiration of Namibia as one nation.

³³⁸ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

³³⁹ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 315.

4.9 Pohamba's Charismatic Leadership

The concept of “charismatic leadership” has been researched by many scholars such as House (1977), Bennis and Nanus (1985), Bass (1985), Tricer and Beyer (1986) on visionary and transformation leadership. These scholars draw from the original theory developed by Weber (1946). For his effective uses of rhetoric, the study relates Pohamba's rhetoric to the theory “of rhetoric of charismatic leadership”³⁴⁰ as it is asserted by Weber (1946, p. 358). In addition Weber's sociological writing and indeed his argument is on the relationship between charismatic leader and democracy.

Weber (1978, p. 241) asserts that “the term ‘charisma’ can be applied to a certain quality of individual of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, super human or at least exceptional powers or quality.”³⁴¹ President Pohamba can be regarded as an extraordinary Namibian who among all managed to persuade a majority of Namibians to vote him as a second democratically elected president of the Republic of Namibia by following the first President Sam Nujoma. Pohamba's rhetorical performance showed how he led the country of Namibia in the new regime of democracy, through his speeches. He demonstrated characters of a charismatic leader in the sense that “Leaders are perceived as charismatic when they demonstrate expertise in transcending the existing order through the use of unconventional means”³⁴². In Pohamba's case, the ‘unconventional means’ refers to his demonstration of democratic experience in terms of his rhetoric of nation building and economic emancipation, among others.

³⁴⁰ Weber, M. (1946). In H. H. Gerth, & C. W. Mills (Eds.), *From Max Weber*. New York: Oxford University Press.

³⁴¹ Conger, A. J and Kanungo, R. (1987). Toward a Behavioral Theory of Charismatic Leadership in Organizational Settings. *The Academy of Management Review*, 12, (4), 637-647

³⁴² Conger, A. J and Kanungo, R. (1987). Toward a Behavioral Theory of Charismatic Leadership in Organizational Settings. *The Academy of Management Review*, 12, (4), 637-647.

Pohamba sees Sam Nujoma as a role model, who freed the country from the yoke of colonialism. Nujoma nominated Pohamba to be the candidate of the presidency of SWAPO party who later succeeded to be the President of the country. Moreover, being a second president of the country Pohamba's leadership style is not that much different from that of Nujoma because he had to join present together with the past by affirming his commitment to the values of the nation. In addition, the study focuses on rhetoric of Pohamba's presidency and there was no element of comparison made to Nujoma's presidency

President Pohamba exhibited knowledge of various government programmes and activities around the country he presided over. With his discourse, he enumerated a number of completed projects which included, among others, the "construction of new roads in different parts of our country, the rehabilitation of roads and railway lines, the completion of Phase One of the Northern Railway Extension Project, the building of Regional and Constituency Offices across Namibia, the expansion of water pipelines, the building of new schools and clinics, and many other projects."³⁴³ He meticulously invented his 18th Independence speech for the purposes of making his speech effective and more appealing to his audience.

Because of their unique relationship with followers, charismatic leaders can be powerful agents of social change. Current theories of charismatic leadership have emphasised primarily the personality and behaviour of leaders and their effects on followers, organisations, and society. This emphasis fails to uncover why and how the charismatic leader/follower interaction can

³⁴³ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

generate social change.³⁴⁴

In order to build a bond between his political leadership and the audience, in his rhetoric, President Pohamba used pronouns and ‘together’ words, which helps his rhetoric to create social changes. The uses of ‘together’ words such as personal pronouns, for example *my*, *I*, *us* and *we* are appropriate in that *my* and *I* confirm his authority, while *us* and *we* make the connection with the audience. While these words act as an appeal to Pohamba’s ethos, they also serve as an appeal to the emotions of the audience in the sense that the audience will continue appreciating democracy in the country.

Also to show that the President and the audience shared the same beliefs and values, Pohamba invariably used together words in his speech: *we* and *our*. Some examples are: ‘our beautiful country’; ‘our struggle for national independence’; ‘our great country’; ‘our citizens’; ‘our people’; ‘all of us’; ‘our nation’; ‘our Government’; and ‘our SWAPO party.’ The constant use of ‘*our*’ and ‘*we*’ draw the audience in, to believe that they were part of the process of governance and not just passive participants. By using *we* and *our*, the speaker emphasised the importance of the value of unity throughout his speech. He stressed that "just as unity was vital during the liberation struggle, it is still a very important element for the implementation of our common objectives." Standing united was the prerequisite for the achievement of common goals. To this end, Pohamba reasoned, “We should continue to promote national unity ...”³⁴⁵ The audiences were encouraged to believe that it was a collective task and responsibility of every Namibian to develop the country.

³⁴⁴ Fiol, C. M; Harris, F, Dickinson; House, F. Charismatic Leadership: Strategies for Effecting social change: *Leadership Quarterly*, 10(3), 449- 482.

³⁴⁵ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

Furthermore, President Pohamba confirmed that the policy of National Reconciliation had ushered in a new dispensation of political stability, peace, unity, ethnic cohesion and security in Namibia. The president emphasised that Namibian people must continue to shun the vices of tribalism, sexism and corruption among other things, a statement that covertly confirms the existence of these vices within the Namibian societies. Pohamba asserted that.³⁴⁶

I call upon all Namibian citizens to continue to maintain and promote peace, security and stability. We should cherish and continue to promote the policy of National Reconciliation. We should continue to promote national unity and shun the vices of tribalism, regionalism, ethnicity, racial discrimination, sexism and corruption (paragraph 28, line 1-4).

Moreover, despite the legitimacy of the allegations, that the government had misguided priorities with regards to the building of a new State House, President Pohamba argued his case thoroughly by rebutting, point by point, why a new seat for the Presidency was a national priority and how the new State House would increase the efficiency of the government. This is evident when he said, “The people of Namibia expect the Office of the President ... to be the epitome of efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery. I trust that with this new facility, the office of the President will live up to that noble expectation.”³⁴⁷ The arguments appeal to those ideas, ideals and principles that the Namibian people claim to give reverence: leadership efficiency, economic development and empowerment of the Namibian people and government institutional building and development.

³⁴⁶ Pohamba, H. (2008) *ibid.* 340.

³⁴⁷ Pohamba, H. (2008). *ibid.* 340.

Lastly, towards the end of the speech, President Pohamba made a call for national action against vices of corruption, tribalism and sexism as well as through an appeal to emotions of the audiences as follows:³⁴⁸

I call upon all Namibian citizens to continue to maintain and promote peace, security and stability. We should cherish and continue to promote the policy of National Reconciliation. We should continue to promote national unity and shun the vices of tribalism, regionalism, ethnicity, racial discrimination, sexism and corruption. We should continue to pay tribute to our fallen heroes and heroines whose blood waters our freedom (paragraph 28, line 1-6).

Another feature of charisma can be observed in Pohamba's rhetoric in the sense that, "Charismatic leadership has been linked to organizational effectiveness, perceptions of leader effectiveness, and increased effort, satisfaction, and performance on the part of followers who are exposed to a charismatic."³⁴⁹ The summation of the main points as seen in the paragraph above goes beyond providing a mere summary of the speech, but it rather renegotiates and resuscitates the listeners' memory of the whole speech, thereby making the speaker's appeals linger in the hearts and minds of the audience. Moreover, Pohamba's speech contains more references to collective rather than individual references such as "a call for all Namibians."³⁵⁰ With this, Pohamba articulated vision and goal that motivates the audience toward collective

³⁴⁸ Blight, M. C; Kohle, I. C; Meindl, J. R (2004). Charisma under crisis: Presidential leadership, rhetoric, and media responses before and after the September 11th terrorist attacks: *Leadership Quarterly* 15 (2004) 211- 239.

³⁴⁹ Blight, M. C; Kohle, I. C; Meindl, J. R (2004). *ibid.* 343.

³⁵⁰ Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

action rather than self-interest.³⁵¹

4.10 Conclusion

President Pohamba demonstrated earnestness through presenting issues of great concern to the Namibian citizens. President Pohamba manifested and exuded some element of temperance in delivery and his highest level of composure and know-how of the aspects he was articulating scored big on his leadership role as a President and gave him credibility and acceptance by his audiences.

As can be inferred from President Pohamba's speech, he interchangeably used both an appeal to reason and empathy. In president Pohamba's speech, emotional appeals were essentially connected to the daily needs of the people of Namibia in general. He was very volatile on how he emotionally appealed to his audiences depending on the nature of the subject matter and situation. President Pohamba adroitly exploited people's emotions in order to emotionally indoctrinate them with perceptions, feelings and understanding that best suit his otherwise selfish and political interests. Pohamba employed numerous verbal manoeuvres to supplement his appeals to empathy in his speech.

Furthermore, Pohamba made great use of reason or logos in his speech. This technique was employed in form of statistical narratives of the various government successes and programs. These logical appeals to his audiences helped Pohamba to add substance and validate his arguments and assertions.

³⁵¹ Blight, M. C; Kohler, I. C; Meindl, J. R (2004). *ibid*.343.

President Pohamba effectively tropified in his speech as an endeavour to bring him closer to his audience. He employed this technique through the use of metaphors, personifications, loose syntax and purposive statements. The rationality behind the use of tropes is to create vivid and elaborate meanings to the audience.

The rate at which President Pohamba spoke, exhibits him as an effective orator. Pohamba's speech, as can be directly inferred from a rapid usage of punctuation marks, was delivered in a relatively slow fashion to allow rapid and extensive assimilation of the message by the audience. However, a good speech is moderately regulated in terms of speed, it must not be too hastily delivered to allow audience to adjust the message, and it must not be too slow as this would give the speech a grossly boring taste thereby compelling audiences to lose attention.

President Pohamba articulated his message through the use of figurative language, metaphors and repetitions. He specifically over-relied on this technique for two reasons that the study identified, the first reason is to create audience acceptance and interests of his speech while the second reason is to buttress his message for extended assimilation of his message in the inner ears of his audience.

President Pohamba used the conclusion of his speech to unveil a new political dispensation in Namibia as espoused by a spacious and colourful new State House as a representation of enhanced governance efficiency and an embodiment of unity for all Namibians regardless of colour, creed, political persuasion and ethnicity.

President Pohamba's monotonous reference and over-emphasis on the new State House overwhelmingly carried him away to the extent losing focus of the main themes of the speech, those which concerned independence celebration. This showed President Pohamba's desperation to legitimise his government and predecessor's skewed priorities. However, a general observation is that President Pohamba managed to articulate the history of Namibia, the rationality of celebrating independence, government policies, programmes as well as stressing the need for unity of purpose among all Namibians. The study defines Pohamba's speech as the rhetoric of Namibia democracy.

Majority if not all of the audience that mostly attend the independence celebrations are SWAPO party supporters, who have elected Pohamba into power. Thus, it is logically arguable that these immediate audience are also in favour of the founding president Sam Nujoma. Nujoma's impact on democratic society is known by many Namibians. Therefore, Pohamba's rhetoric in this case would not be likely to make them feel uncomfortable.

Moreover, while the term "Comrade" is a SWAPO party ideology that was used in Soviet Union during liberation struggle. Pohamba used also other phrase such as "Fellow Namibians" in an attempt to identify with them in terms of citizenship. Therefore, the uses of "together words", which demonstrate the construction of an integral and harmonious national entity and the acknowledgement of liberation struggle heroes and heroines, would qualify Pohamba's rhetoric to accommodate universal audience.

CHAPTER FIVE

HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBAMBA'S POLITICAL DELIBERATION :

Namibia's 19th Independence Anniversary in Windhoek

5.1 Introduction

Every year, since Namibia's attainment of independence in 1990, the incoming president delivers a speech to the nation on the commemoration of the country's independence. This kind of speech serves the purpose of remembering how the country transitioned from apartheid to self-rule. The president delivers the speech to the nation as a reminder about suffering, the importance of independence, the country's achievements, on-going developments towards sustainability of the nation, obstacles faced in the development of the country as well as any other developmental prospects tabled and those in the pipeline.

This section analyses the 19th Independence Anniversary Speech delivered by President Pohamba on 21 March 2009 in Keetmanshoop. President Pohamba deliberately incorporated different rhetorical strategies to achieve political persuasion to his different audience. The speech makes reference to the past, which forms the history of the country, how this history impacts on the present day and how it influences the future. The analysis is rooted in tenets of presidential rhetoric, rhetorical presidency and different genres of rhetoric.

5.2 Pohamba's Lines of Consensus

As traditional in epideictic rhetoric, the first line of Pohamba's speech "brings about a consensus in the minds of the audience regarding the values that are celebrated in the speech"³⁵². The first line of Pohamba's speech sets the speech in motion as it is properly defined to grab the audiences' attention and communicates the purpose of the speech. Furthermore, it provides a window into the rest of the speech, that it is a speech of "the celebration of Namibia's 19th Independence Anniversary"³⁵³. This opening line is of paramount importance to the audience as it is capable of creating either a lasting impression about the speaker, as persuasion is accomplished by character whenever the speech is held in such a way as to render the speaker worthy of credence. If the speaker appears to be credible, the audience will form the second-order judgement that propositions put forward by the credible speaker are true or acceptable. Thus, Aristotle calls character "the most authoritative"³⁵⁴ proof as the audience would trust a speaker's character than merely relies on its judgement of the validity of his argument. Pohamba's character as the country's president qualifies him to be the most credible speaker to deliver this speech.

Pohamba expressed his feelings and personal attitude towards the day as he asserted, "It is a great honour for me to address the nation".³⁵⁵ This establishes the speaker's credibility straightaway, as "there is persuasion through character whenever the speech is spoken, in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence for, we believe fair-minded people to a greater extent and more quickly than we do to others".³⁵⁶ Moreover, the choice of words again drew the

³⁵² Gross, A. G. (1989). A Theory of Rhetorical Audience: Reflections on Chaim Perelman. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 85 (1), 203-11.

³⁵³ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁵⁴ Nichols, M. P. (1987). Aristotle's Defense of Rhetoric. *The Journal of Politics*, 49(3), 657-677.

³⁵⁵ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁵⁶ Aristotle (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

audiences' attention, especially in the opening paragraph when Pohamba chose to assert that "on this auspicious occasion".³⁵⁷ The term 'auspicious' made the occasion a very special one, considering that the term itself may be synonymous with words that reflect upon matters that are positive, providential and favourable. Thus, Pohamba, through diction, set the purpose of the speech at high level and instantly secured the audiences' attention right from the beginning of the speech.

Emphasis is given to the day, making the speech a link that joins the audience to the day being mentioned in particular. This also helps to set the context of the speech that is about the 19th Independence anniversary, thus repetition about this particular day was used as a means of persuasion. Pohamba made reference to the day twice in the first paragraph, making it a central point of focus. The second sentence begins with "Today is a day ..." and the third sentence begins with "It is a day that signifies ...". It can therefore be concluded that it conforms to Aristotle's definition of rhetoric that it is "the power of discovering the means of persuasion in any given situation".³⁵⁸ Thus, Pohamba started off by making repeated reference to the day as a means of persuasion and also for setting the purpose of the speech.

The opening lines of Pohamba's speech do not only introduce the speech but also draw in other entities that contribute to the importance of that particular day. He mentioned to whom the day was of importance where he stated, "a day of pride for every Namibian and friend of Namibia".³⁵⁹ The day drew in a large pool of audiences affiliated to Namibia and its interest, that

³⁵⁷ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*350.

³⁵⁸ Aristotle (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³⁵⁹ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

is to say all Namibians and all the allies to the Namibian country. The use of the word ‘pride’³⁶⁰ again showed how this particular day was different from any other ordinary day, hence the importance of the speech for this day in particular.

Other than “to whom” the day was of importance, Pohamba also addressed the “for what” importance the day was to the Namibians and their friends. Thus, he stated that, “It is a day that signifies and bears testimony to the bravery and perseverance of the Namibian people” (para, 1). This statement is suggestive in nature that the Namibians are fearless people and full of determination, hence the commemoration of the 19th Independence anniversary. If it were not out of bravery and persistence, then the possibility of being a liberated nation would be out of question, hence the need for the Independence celebration, as attaining independence was actually a milestone.

Thus, the opening paragraph, as short as it appears, with just three sentences, provides a succinct treatise that captures the motive behind the presentation of the speech, by providing the purpose for the speech and the importance of the commemoration of the 19th Independence Anniversary for the people of Namibia and their allies.

5.3 Addressing a Heterogeneous Audience

The rhetorical analysis does not only involve identifying and labelling linguistic features but the examination of the entire context of communication. “An important part of context is the

³⁶⁰ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*353.

audience because the rhetoric is never about discourse in the abstract but is always concerned with directing one's words with specific intentions towards a specific audience"³⁶¹.

Pohamba was not talking to himself: the speech was being presented to the audiences who had gathered to celebrate the 19th Independence Anniversary. The presence of an audience expressed epideictic discourse which Kuypers (2010, p. 42) refers to as an instance in which "spectators come to experience a celebration or commemoration of some person or event- that is a ceremony in the present"³⁶². As in this case, Pohamba delivered the independence speech to the audiences that were gathered at Keetmanshoop.

Keetmanshoop is a small town in the Karas region in the southern part of Namibia, lying on the Trans-Namib Railway from Windhoek to Upington in South Africa, with a population of about 15 608. Perelman (1969 p. 206) defines audience for the purpose of rhetoric as "the ensemble of speech targeted vast, heterogeneous audiences as there are both immediate and universal audiences consisting of the high dignitaries that were gathered at the Keetmanshoop stadium, and thousands of people in different towns of Namibia who could see and hear Pohamba's speech through the medium of television and radios. Again, millions of other people possibly outside Namibia would read Pohamba's speech from the newspapers and online the next day. As noted earlier in this study, the Namibian presidency delivered the speech in English, because after independence, the language policy pursued by the SWAPO government reflected the decision to have English as the official language, as stipulated by the Constitution of Namibia sub-article 3. Accordingly,"English is to be the sole medium of communication in all executive, legislative and

³⁶¹ Silva Rhetoricae, (2016). *The Rhetoric of the Forest*. Utah: Brigham Young University. Retrieved November 18, 2017 from <http://humanities.Rhetoric.byu.edu>.

³⁶² Kuypers, J. A. (2010). *Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

judiciary bodies from the Central Government level down to the grassroots”³⁶³. However, it is still questionable how many people can access the president’s message as the majority of Namibian people use English as a second or foreign language. Thus, this study suggests that Namibian Presidency should recognize all other languages spoken by Namibian people by employing different interpreters who should directly translate the message of the President to the Namibian people who do not speak or understand the official language English.

Moreover, Pohamba shared with the audience his sentiments of being “honoured to address” the Namibians on the celebration of their 19th Independence commemoration. As Pohamba occupied the highest office in Namibia, as the president, the post had high power packaged with it, hence while exercising the powers duly entrusted in him and through this speech, he exhibited the praxis of presidential rhetoric. Pohamba was honoured as the president and for that he enacted his social responsibility and had to stand in for the nation on special occasions, such as the commemoration of the country’s independence to deliver a speech. With that, Pohamba “linked his character and the passions of his audience by means of syllogisms he employed”³⁶⁴.

Moreover, since the audience is the important component in public speaking, it is important to analyse the response of the audience of Pohamba’s speech. The reaction of the immediate audience who were gathered in the venue and on the platform was observed by the applause, cheering and laughter. As Pohamba was democratically elected into power, he gained the audience’s attention and admiration since it was highly possible that the large audience who were

³⁶³ Angula, Nahas. 1993. *Language Policy Evaluation and Implementation: Choices and Limitations*. In: MEC (Ministry of Education and Culture), Namibia National Conference on the Implementation of the Language Policy for Schools. Ongwediva Training Centre 22–26 June 1992 (16–24). Windhoek: Longman Namibia.

³⁶⁴ Nichols, Mary P. 1987 Aristotle's Defense of Rhetoric. *Journal of Politics*, 49(3), 657–677.

gathered at the 19th Independence stadium was made up of the population that had voted him into power. Therefore, the audience was likely to respond positively as they had great trust in him, as a leader of their choice that they had democratically elected into power. Simply based on that relationship, which is built on trust and respect between Pohamba and the audience, it may be argued that the speaker's credibility was established instantly when Pohamba opened his mouth to deliver the speech.

Furthermore, in the course of the speech, Pohamba chose to employ 'together words', arguably because he had his audience in mind and a large portion of his audience were his political supporters. The use of 'together words' shows that he was aware of the function and purpose of the ceremonial speech he was delivering. 'Together words' illustrate on inclusiveness, meaning the audience and the president share something in common. The boundaries between the president and the audience were temporarily collapsed by the use of 'together words'. The power in 'together words' is that they bring far extremes to a neutral point, and dialogue is made possible by the fair ground on which the president and the audience meet. This is shown where Pohamba asserted that "This is the day that reminds us of the birth of our nation after many years of oppression" (para. 2). The use of '*our*' and '*us*' shows the all-inclusiveness and the level of equality to which the use of such words impacts on the audience and the president. The use of 'together words' appeals to both the audience (pathos) and the speaker (ethos), and Pohamba used them to promote communion between himself and the audience, although this may be harmful to the audience of the opposition party, as Pohamba's task is to persuade³⁶⁵ (Perelman & Olbrechts 1969 p. 321). This also is his rhetoric of argument, which Fahnestock and Secor (1988,

³⁶⁵ Perlman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University.

p. 21) call an “accommodation”, a way of projecting an image of himself as a good person respecting the audience. This includes a number of issues such as when to use ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘we’, and getting the audience interested in and involved with the argument, evincing reasonableness and moderation.³⁶⁶

5.4 Figurative Language as a Rhetorical Strategy

It is worth noting that the meaning of what flows from the use of speech for rhetorical purpose is reflected in the speaker’s creative experience in anticipation of communicating orally and during the action thereof.³⁶⁷ The employment of the figure of speech “the birth of our nation” (para, 2) persuades the audience to visualise the transition from despotic rule to self-autonomy, hence the Independence Anniversary celebration. The term ‘birth’ is symbolic of the beginning or the onset of something and in this case, it is the beginning of Namibia’s independence. Still in the same paragraph, Pohamba made reference to another figure of speech where he stated that “the chains of bondage were broken” (para, 2). With this figure of speech, Pohamba tried to create vivid images of what kind of oppressive life they had lived before independence. The use of the word ‘chains’ connotes servitude and the use of the word ‘broken’ implies freedom. Thus, Pohamba used rhetoric which Kuypers (2010, p. 288) refers to as ‘the strategic use of written or oral communication to achieve specific goals in persuading his audience.’³⁶⁸

Furthermore, mentioning the specific date – “historic day of 21 March 1990” (para. 2) reinforces one of Aristotle’s proofs, logos, which entails logical appeals. Aristotle (2007, p. 39) asserts that

³⁶⁶ Fahnestock, J., & Secor, M. (1982). *A Rhetoric of Argument*. New York: Random House.

³⁶⁷ Arnold C. C (1968). Oral Rhetoric’s, Rhetoric and Literature. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*: 1 (4) 191-210.

³⁶⁸ Kuypers, J. A. (2010). *Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

“persuasion occurs through the arguments (logo) when we show the truth or the apparent truth from whatever is persuasive in each case”³⁶⁹. Mentioning the exact date lends authenticity to Pohamba’s speech as the date alone rings with meaning to all Namibians. Pohamba’s use of factual dates tallies with Self (1979, p. 140) in that, “reasoning logically is self-evident in the definition of the virtue”³⁷⁰, thus an appeal to logos is necessary where facts or processes are of utmost importance.

This is so, as the date marks the beginning of Namibia’s independence and as such remains immortalised. Pohamba made a declaration which actually reflected on his values and worldviews where he stated, “A republic that will never be subjugated again” (para, 2). All in all, the advent of independence marked the end of subjugation which was never to be experienced again. The choice of words makes the audience appreciate Pohamba’s worldviews and his way of thinking, thus the rhetoric he employed changed the audience’s way of seeing things.

In paragraph 4, Pohamba used two synonyms, ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’. “Synonyms are words that are similar or have a related meaning to another word.”³⁷¹ This he did to show emphasis and the importance of the words and the context in which they were used: “The freedom and independence that we enjoy today were not given to us on a silver platter.” The words ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’ refer to more or less the same thing. In a way these two

³⁶⁹ Aristotle (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by George Kennedy. New York: Oxford.

³⁷⁰ Self, L. S., (1979). Rhetoric and Proneis: The Aristotelian ideal. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 130-145.

³⁷¹ Silva Rhetoricae, (2016). *The Rhetoric of the Forest*. Utah: Brigham Young, University. Retrieved 18 November, 2017 from <http://humanities.>

words were deliberately used to exaggerate the meaning carried by these words. In other words, one would argue that Pohamba employed these two words in order to avoid the repetition of the same word. In so doing, Pohamba exhibited verbal skill by employing certain words that would actually make a difference by turning the audience to believe in a certain way, thus appealing to the audience's pathos. Still in the same sentence Pohamba made use of the figure of speech, "on a silver platter", meaning the independence which brought Namibia political freedom came about with great effort from the Namibians, not as a gift. This simply evoked the audience's emotions to feel the struggle and pain that the independence they were commemorating did not just come easily. He went further to say, "It was brought about by the sacrifices, bravery and gallantry of the sons and daughters of soil who stood firm to fight against colonialism and apartheid oppression" (para 4). Their sacrifices resulted in the independence the country was enjoying and commemorating annually as a nation. Overall, the way Pohamba said it, it was a means of persuading his audience that there was a need to remember and always cherish their sacrifices which brought self-rule to Namibia. The use of isocolon, which is the repetition of grammatical structures in several clauses of the speech, is employed to connect ideas. Isocolons are there to boost pathos and build rhetorical force as they heighten the audience's emotions. This is noted in the speech where Pohamba used the word 'from' as an isocolon, as in the excerpt below.³⁷²

Our young people must learn and master this history, **from** the battle field exploits of Hendrik Witbooi to the battlefield ingenuity of Samuel Maharero; **from** the patriotism of Kahimemwa Nguvauva to the bravery of Mandume ya Ndemufayo; **from** the uncompromising posture of Iipumbu ya Tshilongo to the guerrilla tested Jacob Marengo;

³⁷² Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

from the victorious Nehale IyaMpingana to the unwavering spirit of Sam Nujoma; **from** the dedication of Tobias Hainyeko and Dimo Hamambo to the vision of Peter Nanyemba and battle-testedness of Greenwell Matongo. You must learn and master this history (paragraph 6, line 1-7).

Furthermore, the mere mention of key individuals involved in the history of Namibia aided in authenticating Pohamba's speech, so that the speaker as well as the validity of the speech itself were both maintained. This appealed to the audience's emotions (pathos) and for that the audience were automatically hooked to the speech and would listen till Pohamba finished delivering the speech. Also, in paragraph 6, Pohamba provided an outline of the history of Namibia and the key events that formulated that history. This is an example of the "nature of the context in which speakers or writers create rhetorical discourse, as the speech is given rhetorical significance by the situation"³⁷³. Moreover, this is a style in rhetoric where the speaker uses such persuasive tools in order to create specific effects by playing on the audience's emotions. Similarly, where Pohamba stated, "You must learn and master this history" (para. 6), he used an appeal of logos to challenge people of Namibia to know their history, and through rhetoric, he indirectly commanded them to know their history. A recommendation of this nature is actually a call for action.

The use of metaphors directly linked to the importance of the country's history also shows that Pohamba was driving the senses of his audience by providing rich comparisons, for example, where he asserted that "This is the foundation upon which we can build a stronger and more

³⁷³ Bitzer, L. F. (1992). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 25 (1), 1-14.

prosperous Namibia. It is the mountain top upon which we stand in order to see clearly far from the horizon”³⁷⁴. The metaphors ‘foundation upon which we can build’ and ‘the mountain top upon which we stand in order to see’ create vivid imagery in the minds of the audience, leaving a lasting impression about the importance of the country’s history on an individual basis. Thus, Pohamba employed figures of speech in the form of metaphors and personification to enhance understanding in his audience as well as a means of swaying them.

5.5 Oration on Public Deliberation on the Namibian Construction

“It is the rhetorical event that takes the shape of a rhetorical situation if national pride or state concerns impose an exigency”³⁷⁵. Other than reflecting on the past history on which the anniversary was hinged, Pohamba also deliberated on the achievements and challenges that the country had faced and was going through. This is noted where he asserted, “Today, we pause and reflect on the achievements we have recorded to date, and the opportunities that lie ahead”³⁷⁶ (para. 3). Through rhetoric, Pohamba stood as a spokesman for the entire country and informed the nation on the position of the country. He went on to say, “We also pause to reflect on the challenges facing our nation and how these challenges could be overcome as we chart a new direction towards a future filled with hope” (para. 3). By stating both achievements and challenges, Pohamba showed impartiality and gave a true representation of what the country was going through by stating both the successes and the confrontations. Through rhetoric Pohamba was able to provide a balanced representation of the country’s position, thereby also reflecting

³⁷⁴ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁷⁵ Salazar, P. J. (2009). Nobel Rhetoric; or, Petrarch's Pendulum. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 42(4), 373-400.

³⁷⁶ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

the kind of a speaker he was. Thus, rhetoric is defined here as “the appropriation and elaboration of practice inherent in language competence”³⁷⁷.

Moreover, Pohamba brought in the aspect of a policy that foresaw the country moving into a positive future. This is noted where he said, “In particular, the farsighted adoption of the Policy of National Reconciliation and the commitment of the Namibian people to socio-economic development and nation building have laid a foundation for a brighter future for our people” (para. 3). The policy itself unites the country into one as it aims at “peace, progress and stability” (para. 3). That policy he made reference to, shows elements of being multi-vocal, a rhetoric tactic that Pohamba employed in the process of persuading his audience. Thus, rhetoric is strategically employed here as a means of communicating to achieve the intended goals, for the audience to rally behind the Policy of National Reconciliation.

It is worth noting that the occasion of the Independence Anniversary was the context which forced President Pohamba to deliver the above discourse in his speech. The presence of rhetorical discourse obviously indicates the presence of rhetorical situations. The emphasis Pohamba put on in his rhetoric of reconciliation can be regarded as an element of rhetorical situation, as it is an imperfect constraint, which through Pohamba’s rhetoric can be modified. “An exigency is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse or can be assisted by discourse”³⁷⁸ (Bitzer, 1968 p. 7). Thus, the fully appreciation and exercise of the policy of reconciliation would bring positiveness, and this can be assisted by the President’s discourse. Pohamba, in a way, through rhetoric altered reality

³⁷⁷ Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic power*. Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press.

³⁷⁸ Bitzer, L. F. (1992). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 25(1), 1-14.

by creating a discourse that directly impacted on the audience's thoughts and action. The audience's attitude towards the government was likely to change in favour of the policy of national reconciliation.

5.6 Persuasion through Collaborative Language

Pohamba incorporated different rhetorical strategies in order to achieve persuasion in his public discourse because public discourse is rhetorical and it is “through it that we intentionally influence others to view the world in a certain way and act accordingly”³⁷⁹. Thus, Pohamba employed group dynamics (‘together words’) to inspire the audience and make them feel part of his effort. This is evident from the speech where he asserted, “We must, all of us, as Namibians stand together on the shoulders of the giants of our history and join hands to build a better Namibia” (para. 8). Again, the use of words like ‘we’, ‘us’ brings the audience and the speaker to a common ground that allows the audience to feel really part of the speaker's realm, hence the speaker's credibility is maintained (ethos), as is audience's attention (pathos). The use of the figure of speech personification in “the shoulders of the giants of our history” (para 8) brought aspects of history to life by providing deeper meaning to the concept of the history of Namibia, thereby appealing to the emotions of audience.

Pohamba also deliberated on the theme of the history of Namibia and showed how it forms part of the definition of the country's freedom, giving it much attention in evoking the audience's pathos. This is from the speech, where he asserted:³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Cathcart, R. S, (1981). *Post-communication: Rhetorical Analysis and Evaluation*. Bobbs-Merrill Educational Pub.

³⁸⁰ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

A country which Namibians from all backgrounds can call their own. After all, our heroes and heroines who made us what we are today, a free, proud and independent nation. Our citizens can walk tall and proudly pronounce themselves as Namibians, thanks to these heroes and heroines whose blood waters our freedom (paragraph 8, line 1-5).

Pohamba's tactic of bringing up and remembering the "heroes and heroines" who sacrificed their lives in liberating the country, was another way of appealing to the audience's emotions (pathos). Another was his ethical appeal (ethos) by drawing the audience in to view the situation from his worldview, particularly on how he validates the importance of the heroes and heroines. The invocation of the struggle and the mention of the heroes and heroines solicited support for Pohamba and the audience was left with no other choice but to listen and pay attention to his speech.

In addition to the above tactics, Pohamba employed verbal skills in explaining the transition from the colonial bondage which emphasised the harsh realities before independence and how independence had brought with it the "supreme law of the land" which legitimised the delivery of the Policy of National Reconciliation, which was packaged with unity, peace, tolerance and mutual understanding. Thus, Pohamba again made reference to the Policy of National Reconciliation in this way in order to persuade his audience to lend their support and rally behind the policy. This concurs with Kuypers (2010, p. 293) in that, "the best critics simply do not make

a judgement without supplying good reasons for others (audience) to agree with them”³⁸¹. In this instance, the Policy of National Reconciliation is venerated by Pohamba in persuading his audience to view it in the same way as he did.

Moreover, the advent of independence brought with it autonomy, thereby allowing the Namibians to control their own economy through various developmental programmes, noted when Pohamba stated, “After freedom was won, we committed to accelerating socio-economic development and to the improvement of the living standards of all our people”³⁸². Pohamba’s use of the ‘together words’ such as ‘*we*’ and ‘*our*’ showed solidarity toward common goals and aspects of inclusiveness. This appealed to the audience’s emotions and thus propelled them to keep listening to the speech, so maintaining the speaker’s credibility.

Pohamba further deliberated on the progress that the country was making and how that was beneficial to the nation of Namibia. This is in the part of the speech where he said ‘I am happy to state confidently that notable progress has been made in this regard’ (para. 9). The use of the personal pronoun ‘*I*’ creates the impression that Pohamba allowed his audience to have a peek into his personal emotions at an individual level (ethos), thereby appealing to the audience’s emotions (pathos) as this allows the drawing in of the audience closer to the speaker on a more personal level - a kind of close to intimate relationship established between the speaker and the audience through the speech.

³⁸¹ Kuypers, J. A. (2010). *Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

³⁸² Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

The use of personification where Pohamba stated, “Today, Namibia is at peace with herself and her neighbours” (para. 9) gave deeper meaning and life to the words uttered in relation to the referenced, in this case, the country Namibia. This style adds vividness to expressions as the audience would then look at Namibia from a human perspective, hence the use of the reflexive pronoun ‘*herself*’ and possessive pronoun ‘*her*’ as if the country were a female human being. This appealed to the audience’s emotions and created lasting impressions of how the audience would relate to Namibia; the words used in the speech, particularly relating to the country, gave feminine attributes. Thus, the expression struck the minds of the audience. It is vivid in the sense that it is a popular belief that females are happy and responsible people who are full of life. Therefore, the use of that personification added vividness to this expression.

Pohamba knew how more persuasive it would become if he were to at least itemise a few of the developments that the country was undertaking to substantiate his arguments (logos). For that, Pohamba asserted:³⁸³

We can proudly say that the majority of our people now have access to the basic amenities such as food, shelter, water, safety, security and human dignity. We have built schools, hospitals, clinics, roads, railways and other infrastructure across the country. Potable water and electricity are now available to thousands of our citizens and rural electrification has changed the rural landscape. Programmes such as the 3rd National Development Plans are giving practical effect to our long-term objectives as set out in Vision 2030 (paragraph 10, line 1-7).

³⁸³ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

The itemisation of these projects adds validity to Pohamba's speech as he made reference to real projects whose results and existence were evident to the naked eye. In other words, Pohamba employed rhetoric as a strategic use of communication to achieve specific goals³⁸⁴. In this way, elements of logical integrity could be observed in Pohamba's speech as he stated in a list form, the developments that were really in progress in the country.

Other than that, Pohamba's rhetoric of tactfulness is distinguished by the way he drew in crucial aspects in the process of weaving his speech. This is noted where he said, "For instance, consistent with NDP3 and Vision 2030, our SWAPO PARTY Government has committed itself"³⁸⁵ (para11). It can, therefore, be argued that Pohamba wanted the audience to know the meaning and impact of solidarity and how it works in contributing to the development of the country. However, the analysis in this study has found that the mention of so many issues of the commonplace in Pohamba's rhetoric diluted the value of his rhetoric, so at some point undermined the competence of Pohamba's speechwriters.

As part of deliberative rhetoric, Pohamba's rhetoric was deeply involved in community problem-solving and public decision "deliberatively focuses on the choice of future action rather than on the assessment of past actions and character"³⁸⁶. Pohamba brought to the fore some of the most crucial aspects with a direct impact on the future of the citizens, some of which from the way he presented them through the choice of words, actually appealed to the audience's emotions. This

³⁸⁴ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁸⁵ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*379.

³⁸⁶ Yack, B. (2006). Rhetoric and Public Reasoning: An Aristotelian Understanding of political deliberation. *Political Theory*, 34(4), 417-438.

is evidenced from the speech where he said, “We have placed particular focus on the provision of education, health, water, housing, infrastructure development and rural development”³⁸⁷. The phrase “placed particular attention” created the impression with the audience that the listed items thereafter were of paramount importance. Pohamba went further to narrow these down to create a picture of what good the government was doing for its people where he said, “In specific terms, health services are now available to the majority of Namibians across the country” (para. 12). The availability and accessibility of health services to the majority of Namibians is a sign of marked progress as a healthy nation boosts the economic growth of a country.

The improved health delivery system is therefore a milestone achievement for the Namibian government, thereby appealing to the emotions of the audience. This is made successful through the choice of proper diction as presented in Pohamba’s speech. If the health facilities are available and accessible to the people of Namibia, then problems such as a high mortality rate are kept minimised as health delivery services are significantly reachable and accessible. Also, the discourse of the government’s initiative towards the health of the nation of Namibia fortifies the bonds of loyalty and commitment on the part of the government for its people that voted it into power. Thus, a truly democratic government like the SWAPO Party Government must take the health welfare of its people seriously. Pohamba deliberated on this section as it plays a major role in the development of the country.

5.7 Rhetoric on the Issues of Commonplace

Pohamba’s rhetoric addressed commonplace issues. In his appeal to the audience’s emotions, he made a reference to a global issue that is equally troubling in Namibia as well, which is

³⁸⁷ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

HIV/AIDS. Pohamba provided an insight to his audience on what the Namibian government was undertaking towards the HIV/AIDS problem which affects all sectors of both the economic and social lives of all Namibians. As a representative for the government, Pohamba therefore asserted, “We are actively combating the spread of HIV/AIDS through awareness campaigns, the distribution of anti-retroviral drugs and counselling for those infected and affected by the pandemic”³⁸⁸. As stated earlier, rhetoric is situational: “in order to clarify rhetoric as essentially-related to situation, thus a view point that is commonplace must be acknowledged”³⁸⁹ (Bitzer, 1992 p. 2). By addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic, Pohamba’s rhetoric acts as a mode of altering reality by creating discourse which changes reality through mediation of thought and action.

Logos was employed when Pohamba made reference to the activities in place in the efforts in fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic when he spoke of the campaigns, and the distribution of anti-retroviral drugs as well as counselling services.

The use of the pronoun ‘we’ denoted inclusiveness, meaning that the government and other responsible authorities were working collaboratively in combating the pandemic. Again, the word ‘combat’ connotes that the HIV/AIDS pandemic requires a militant approach because it is more or less like a war itself. Thus, the term ‘combat’ is employed for the audience to clearly comprehend how serious the HIV/AIDS pandemic is. This actually sinks into the audience’s consciousness, calling for action from them.

³⁸⁸ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence anniversary address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁸⁹ Bitzer, L. F. (1992). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 25(1), 1-14.

By directly addressing his immediate audience, Pohamba talked about the challenges faced by the Karas Region, though they were common to any other region in Namibia. He provided some possible recommendations for lessening some of the challenges which not only included the HIV/AIDS pandemic, but also unemployment. Thus, Pohamba asserted:³⁹⁰

Like other regions of our country, the Karas region faces many challenges including unemployment; the HIV/AIDS pandemic; alcohol and drug abuse, as well as crime. Most of these challenges can be addressed through job creation and income generating projects, while the private sector is encouraged to invest in viable ventures to create jobs and contribute to economic growth (paragraph 23, line 1-5).

Other than the health delivery system, Pohamba also deliberated on the education sector, an equally important sector as it also contributed to the economic growth of the country. This is evident from the speech where he stated, “Progress has also been made in the education sector, resulting in higher levels. As a result, Namibia is on course, and in some areas, we have exceeded the targets set out in the Millennium Development Goals. We should be proud of these achievements”³⁹¹. As these achievements were extensive in the education sector, Pohamba commented on them for the audience to take pride in such significant progress. Similar progress is noted where he highlighted: “In the areas of physical infrastructure and telecommunications, our roads, rail networks, power lines, and telecommunications networks rank among the best on the continent.” (para. 13). The way Pohamba articulated the progress in the speech kept the audience motivated, and for that reason Pohamba asked the audience (including himself, using

³⁹⁰ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.* 383.

³⁹¹ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

the pronoun ‘we’) to be proud of the achievements as landmarks in the development of the country. This is from the speech where he said, “We must be proud of these achievements” (para, 13). Such compliments kept the audience inspired and therefore the audience’s attention was kept under control by the speaker, so the ceremonial speech fulfilled its function with the audience.

Another crucial aspect drawn into the circles of discussion was poverty. As a serious problem, as in any other problems in many countries of Africa which contribute to the growth of a nation’s economy, poverty is also given equal attention. Pohamba asserted, “We have also put in place a broad anti-poverty strategy to combat poverty and create social safety nets for our citizens” (para. 15). Again, the use of the word ‘combat’ illustrates how serious the poverty problem is to the nation thus, it is given attention on how to fight it and release Namibian nationals from the problem. Thus, policies such as the anti-poverty are put in place. Highlighting such issues showed how considerate the government run by Pohamba was, as it paid attention and reacted to the crucial and detrimental issues affecting the Namibians on a daily basis. This uplifted Pohamba’s audience through the positive policies on poverty which the government had put in place and so appealed to the audience’s emotions and equally built trust in the person delivering the speech.

Pohamba weighed up the anti-poverty policy by stating the motives behind its formation, which in turn touched the audience’s emotions, thereby persuading them to accept it. This is noted when Pohamba asserted:³⁹²

³⁹² Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

A comprehensive national anti-poverty policy was adopted to combat the causes as well as the effects of poverty. The monthly social grant provided to senior citizens, veterans of the liberation struggle, people with disabilities, as well as orphans and vulnerable children, is just one example of the anti-poverty measures adopted by our SWAPO PARTY Government (paragraph 15, line 1-5).

Pohamba addressed those issues that deal directly with the audience's emotions, outlining the targeted areas in the fight against poverty, and so acting as logos that substantiate the argument that Pohamba accentuated with regards to the good things that the government was doing for its people. Thus, both pathos and ethos were emphasised for the audience and the speaker respectively. The anti-poverty policy was a welcome gesture that would appeal to the audience, hence they would rally behind Pohamba as they were motivated by his speech.

Other than the problems that Pohamba highlighted, there appeared to be problems resulting from natural phenomena, which is a plight of the majority of Namibians who are affected by such occurrences. Pohamba noted it where he stated, "Our country has received above average rainfall this year. As a result, all dams and reservoirs are full. Many areas in north and north-eastern Namibia have been flooded." (para. 25). What Pohamba did in reaction to the floods appealed particularly to the speaker himself (ethos) as noted where he stated, "I recently toured some of the devastated areas to assess the levels of destruction caused by the flood"³⁹³. That undertaking revealed what kind of a person Pohamba was, especially to the people he was leading. He went further to give a description of the damages resulting from the flooding: "Properties have been

³⁹³ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*387.

washed away, businesses have ceased their operations and some schools, clinics, other government facilities and services are suspended on account of flooding. We all know of the risks of flooding in southern Namibia” (para. 26). In this case he showed the humanitarian-driven character residing in him, so through his rhetoric, Pohamba presented himself as a protector and defender of the people. He was agitated by the devastation he witnessed, hence, as a leader he had to take action. Thus, he stated that “As a result, on Tuesday, 17 March 2009, I declared the north and north-eastern parts of our country as disaster areas. In this regard, our government will treat the affected areas as requiring emergency assistance”³⁹⁴. This appeal to the audience’s emotions (pathos) evoked emotional responses from the audience, allowing Pohamba to hold the audience’s attention, thereby allowing him to deliberate his speech to the end.

Pohamba made promises which the audience was most likely to support as his credibility had already been established and the other arguments he presented earlier on had been substantiated where he asserted, “Our government will work around the clock to restore services in the affected areas. Namibia has been negatively affected by the world economic crisis. A considerable number of our citizens have lost their jobs as some businesses scaled down operations or closed down altogether”³⁹⁵. By making a promise, Pohamba committed himself with the utmost hope to fulfil that promise and not allow his established credibility to be jeopardised by failing to keep the promise. Thus, to make the promise of substance, he used the metaphor “work round the clock”, meaning that the government would work tirelessly in order to restore services disrupted by the floods.

³⁹⁴ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁹⁵ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.* 349.

More on a personal level, which again appealed to ethos, Pohamba spoke of the confidence he personally had that the affected area would be rebuilt and life would normalise, where he said, “I am confident that we will, as a country, overcome the challenges that we face and rebuild our economy and our infrastructures”³⁹⁶. The use of the pronoun “*I*” allowed the statement to be taken more on a personal level and involved the sentimental part of the speaker, resulting in a pathos appeal which also evoked the audience’s emotions, allowing both ethos and pathos to operate at the same time.

Pohamba also picked on yet another challenge that the country was facing emanating from external forces. In his words, “Namibia has been negatively affected by the world economic crisis. A considerable number of our citizens have lost their jobs as some businesses scaled down operations or closed down altogether”³⁹⁷. Pohamba focused particularly on the mining sector (logos) that it had been affected most, explaining the impact: “The reduction of mining operation has reduced government revenues generated through taxes and royalties. This will have implications for social and economic development programmes and projects in the country” (para. 28). Pohamba showed his audience the extent of this problem, and as such called for a collaborative effort from all Namibians to help each other in times of crisis. “As a nation, we must find ways and means of dealing with these crises. We must stand together and assist each other during this difficult period.” (para. 28). The use of group dynamics in the word ‘*we*’ recommended a course of action through collaborative effort. This appealed to both pathos and ethos as solidarity elements to pull everyone in one direction, as the ones being recommended by Pohamba.

³⁹⁶ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

³⁹⁷ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.* 391.

Pohamba employed the rhetorical strategy of repetition, particularly to persuade his audience to know and keep in mind the reason why they were gathered and receiving the speech. This is from the speech where Pohamba stated, “Today is Independence Day”. (Para, 29). This brought the audience back to the focus of that particular day. Repetition enhances fossilising and emphasis, so the audience would remember more about that particular issue. Merely stating that it is “Independence Day” meant that some importance was attached to that singled-out day. Pohamba substantiated that argument by saying, “It is an occasion for every one of us to renew his or her resolve to make a positive contribution to our country” (para, 29). It is more than just an ordinary day observed through the use of the word ‘occasion’ and it must be a turning point for individuals in their participation in the growth of the country. Pohamba swayed his audience with his statement, “We must work to overcome obstacles and to achieve our full potential. We should move away from alcohol and drug abuse” (para, 29). The use of the group dynamics ‘we’ exhorted the audience for collaborative effort, at the same time bringing the speaker and the audience to the same level. Apart from that, Pohamba indirectly instructed the audience what to do through his good choice of words which actually recommended a course of action.

5.8 Campaign Rhetoric

While presidency campaigns for power, presidency equally campaigns to retain power. The modern presidential campaign is the third factor accounting for the rise of the rhetorical presidency, “there is a thin line between campaign and governance as they both involve the same

essential function of persuading through popular oratory”³⁹⁸ (Ceaser et al., 1981, p. 166). The way Pohamba praised the government policies grabbed the audience’s attention, allowing him to deliver all that he intended to impart to the audience. This also allows him to campaign for the ruling party as he constantly referred to the government as the “SWAPO Party Government” and how it had relatively spread and reached almost all corners of the country. This was evident from the speech where Pohamba said, “The developed policies and programmes being implemented by our SWAPO Party Government have reached every corner of Namibia, including here in the Karas region where the main celebrations for the 19th Independence Anniversary are being hosted”³⁹⁹. Thus, reference to a specific place (logos) authenticated an argument and for that, validated Pohamba’s speech, keeping audience attention hooked and under control of the speaker.

Pohamba shifted from pondering on the government policies, drawing in particularly Karas Region to the centre of the podium. He skilfully shifted attention to yet another aspect that he needed to persuade his audience of, stating:⁴⁰⁰

The Karas region is home to some of the vital economic industries in our country such as diamonds, zinc mining, karakul and ostrich farming, tourism, agriculture, fishing, as well as natural wonders such as the Fish River Canyon and the Brukaros Mountain (paragraph 17, line 1-3).

³⁹⁸ Ceaser, J. W., Thurow, G. E., Tulis, J., & Bessette, J. M. (1981). The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 11(2), 158-171.

³⁹⁹ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

⁴⁰⁰ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*394.

In other words, Pohamba deliberately put Karas in the spotlight to persuade his audience to regard all the regions as equally important as in total they all make up one Namibia. To back up his argument, Pohamba listed some of the important industries that contributed to the country's economy that are found in this region (logos), thus validating his argument.

Furthermore, Pohamba eulogised the Karas Region, thereby giving his audience a whole new picture of what the region was like and how it deserved to be publicised. Through the choice of words, he also made it clear how strategically the Karas Region was located, considering the activities it was involved with that contributed to the country's economy. Pohamba stated, "The Karas region is an important frontier with our southern neighbour, South Africa, which is a major source of tourism for Namibia. Our government has, therefore, strengthened cooperation between the two countries in the sector of tourism"⁴⁰¹. In a way Pohamba was swaying his audience in accepting that the established relations with the bordering country should be upheld as they were beneficial to the economic growth of Namibia, of which the economic growth had direct impact on the nation's welfare.

Pohamba further dwelt on the good things that the government was doing for its people, stating: "In this context, our government is leaving no stone unturned to facilitate the creation of job opportunities for our citizens" (para. 24). The argument he posed immediately substantiated what he stated.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*394.

⁴⁰² Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*394.

Yesterday morning, I inaugurated the Southern Regional Campus of the Namibian Institute of Mining and Technology. This institution will empower our people providing them with vocational skills through vocational training. This will enable them to obtain employment or to employ themselves (paragraph 24, line 2-4).

The logical integrity was supported by an event that had happened the previous day, so that the emotions of the audience were influenced and there could not be any way they could doubt their trusted speaker and leader. In this way Pohamba won their hearts, the message definitely got to them and they acted according to his wishes and intentions.

Being aware of his audience, Pohamba diverted his focus to a specific group, “the born-frees” that were part of his audience. This he did to demonstrate the importance of that particular target group when he said, “Apart from being our National Day, today is also an important day for the ‘born-frees’, those fortunate Namibians who were born in the post-independence dispensation” (para, 29). Their presence was of paramount importance as they played a role in the development of the country, thus their significance was distinguished. Pohamba went further to assert:⁴⁰³

I urge those who have attained a voting age to register in order to be able to vote and elect leaders and political parties of their choice. It is through the ballot box that we can determine the future destiny of our country (paragraph 29, line 3-5).

⁴⁰³ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*397.

From the above quotation, it is clear that Pohamba persuaded his target audience, “the born-frees” who have attained an eligible age for voting to go and register so that they could contribute to the country’s wellbeing. Pohamba subtly addressed democratic practices in this instance. The clever use of the phrase “elect leaders and political parties of their choice” preached in volumes the democratic stance that Pohamba held and for the government he was representing on this particular day. Thus, even to those who were ‘non-born- free’, the choice and onus was still theirs in choosing leaders and political parties that they wanted. To further reinforce the democratic stance to his audience, Pohamba stated, “It is through the ballot box that we can determine the future destiny of our country.” The mention of the ‘ballot box’ swayed Pohamba’s audience in that it is believed to be the true reflection of a nation’s wants through their choices via the ballot.

Pohamba repeated, on the occasion on which they were celebrating, to refresh the minds of the audience and help them in focusing on the idea. At the same time, he used repetition of the title of the occasion to hook another argument, when he said, “On this occasion of our nineteenth Independence anniversary, our SWAPO Party Government renewed its commitment to the development of our beloved country and the creation of opportunities for everyone to participate in all socio-economic opportunities for our people”⁴⁰⁴. Earlier on Pohamba had asked the audience “to renew his or her resolve to make a positive contribution” (para. 31) to the country which would then complement the government’s efforts in also renewing “its commitment to the development” of the country. This swayed the audience in that, if the government was making an effort in contributing to the country’s economy, then it was challenging, encouraging individuals to also take part in the development of Namibia. Again, in this context, emphasis is placed on the

⁴⁰⁴ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

bond between the ruling party and the government, they are presented as one, hence the phrase “SWAPO Party Government”.

The promise that Pohamba made with regards to the SWAPO Party Government, may be delineated under deliberative rhetoric as it made reference to the future, where he asserted:⁴⁰⁵

We will continue to promote effective participation of our people in joint ventures and other activities in our economy. In this regard, special emphasis will be put on previously disadvantaged Namibians. We will emphasise value addition to our natural resources in order to increase their benefit for our people and to enable Namibia to participate meaningfully in regional and international trade. We will continue to address the socio-economic welfare of our senior citizens, workers, youth, peasants, orphans and vulnerable children, women, war veterans, people with disabilities and indeed all our citizens (paragraph 32, line 1-7).

The promises in the above immediate quotation were likely to be received by the audience without any hesitation as the speaker’s credibility has already been established by virtue of Pohamba being the constitutionally and lawfully elected president whom the audience elected into power through the ballot. Thus, promises of this nature are likely to be easily acknowledged by the audience, thus Pohamba successfully swayed them.

⁴⁰⁵ Pohamba, H. (2009). *ibid.*399.

Pohamba further deliberated on the importance of land when he talked about how agriculture was sustaining the livelihood of Namibians. He presented his argument that “towards this end, an ambitious plan, the Green Scheme, was adopted to transform the lands along our perennial rivers into the food basket for our nation” (para 33). Thus, it is a government’s undertaking that “Namibia is able to feed herself with locally produced food” (para. 33). The scheme had already been implemented and Pohamba persuaded his audience by substantiating his argument: “The implementation of this scheme has started and the Namibian people will reap the benefits sooner rather than later” (para. 33). The good results attached to this scheme were the ones that appealed to the audience’s emotions (pathos) and by virtue of being spoken by a speaker who was trusted by the audience, speaker credibility was maintained and reinforced by the provision of (logos) the mention of a specific and existing scheme, which in turn authenticated the speech itself.

5.9 Conclusion

Pohamba reminded the audience about the importance of the continual development of the country of Namibia and thus chose the most appropriate words that he used to put across his contention. He asserted, “Peace, security, stability and national unity are essential for the continued development of our country” (para. 33). The words ‘peace, security, stability and national unity’ influenced the audience as they together worked interdependently towards the development of any nation. Without a proper mix of these crucial elements. The development of the country of Namibia was jeopardised. Furthermore, Pohamba logically supported his argument that the efforts of the country’s liberators should not be put to waste for they had sacrificed their lives where he stated, “Many of our fallen heroes and heroines have sacrificed their lives for us to live in peace and a secure environment” (Para, 33). Thus, to complement the

efforts of the liberators, there was a need to propel forward the development of Namibia. Pohamba then used rhetoric in the form of a recommendation that suggested a course of action, saying, “I, therefore, call upon all of us to continue to maintain peace, security and stability in the country”⁴⁰⁶.

The study concluded that Pohamba’s rhetoric in this speech advocated for unity and did not encourage differences or individualism. The speech ended with an encouraging statement that emphasised the appreciation of those who had sacrificed their lives in order for the Namibians to be enjoying the independence that they were now able to commemorate freely and hold as an annual event.

⁴⁰⁶ Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This section presents research findings, as well as recommendations for future studies in the areas related to the focus of this study. The study is a rhetorical analysis of President Hifikepunye Pohamba's presidency during the first term of his presidential rule, from 21 March 2005 up to 21 March 2010. The study analysed how Pohamba's governance continued to shape the democracy of post-apartheid Namibian government, and how Pobamba's rhetoric aimed at promoting reconciliation, nation building, driving economic emancipation of all Namibians, the country's economic sustainability and deepening of national unity and tribal harmony, among others. Furthermore, the focus was on Pobamba's first inauguration and his four Independence Anniversary speeches, which gave emphasis to the flourishing democracy in Namibia after the country attained its independence. This flourishing democracy in Namibia was characterised by transformational leadership and participatory democracy.

The study sought to respond to the research questions which are listed in the introductory chapter of this study. They are: How effective were President Pohamba's speeches in terms of the structure of the text/different parts of oration? How clear was the President's language style – was it appropriate to his audience and the situation? Was there any correlation between the verbal and non-verbal communication in terms of gestures, text and images in President Pohamba's speeches?

The analysis of five speeches of the study was armed with the theory of Aristotelian rhetoric, Aristotle (2007), a context of the rhetorical situation, Bitzer (1968), rhetorical argument and application, Perelman (1984), as framework. Moreover, the close contextual analysis was also employed as it sought to analyse the relationship between the inner working of public discourse and its historical context in order to discover what made a particular text function persuasively.

With the aid of the above-mentioned frameworks and research questions, the following findings were found from the analysis of the selected speeches.

Overview of the Research Findings

It appears that epideictic rhetoric was the most common technique among others, used by President Pohamba. This could be attributed to the fact that President Pohamba's speeches were ceremonial and entailed value praises and blames. Therefore, throughout all his speeches, features of epideictic rhetoric had been prevalent.

The study further found that to some extent, President Pohamba's orations also fell under deliberative and forensic rhetoric. "Deliberative and forensic are concerned with the civic requirements of establishing and upholding the law"⁴⁰⁷(p. 9). In the study, Pohamba's rhetoric advised on the future, thus much reference to the future was a common trait in all Pohamba's selected speeches under study. However, there was very little evidence of forensic rhetoric in the selected speeches. Forensic rhetoric is more focused on the orientation towards the past which

⁴⁰⁷ Hauser, G. A, (1999). Aristotle on Epideictic: The Formation of Public Morality, *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (29)1, 5-23.

might be accusing or defensive. The study found that Pohamba tried to avoid sensitive topics of the past.

Moreover, Pohamba's eloquence took a stance on democratic leadership as it employed elements of both consensus decision making and majority rule – a sign of exercising democracy in the country. The monumental occasions in the history of Namibian politics, among others, the symbolic rhetoric of the peaceful transfer of power from the founding President Sam Nujoma, to the second president, Hifikepunye Pohamba, is revealed in the study.

Pohamba incorporated the three rhetorical appeals and demonstrated his democratic ethics to his audiences thus, continue shaping democracy in his leadership. Furthermore, Pohamba's democratic governance put Namibia on the map when he won the MO Ibrahim Award for best leader in Africa at the end of his second and last term of office. Although the current study focuses only on the rhetoric of his first term, it is worth mentioning this prestigious honour.

The study also found Pohamba to be categorised as a modern rhetorical president as he spoke directly to the public. Communicating with the public was his way of gaining support for precedential policy initiatives – an important feature in modern rhetorical presidency (Tulis, 1987). As such, the speeches under study were all delivered directly to the public; hence President Hifikepunye Pohamba qualifies to be labelled a modern president.

The research sought to analyse how Pohamba's rhetoric continues shaping democracy of post-apartheid Namibia, by answered the three research questions as follow:

- **How effective were President Pohamba's speeches in terms of the structure of the text/different parts of oration? (Research Question 1)**

The study found that President Pohamba effectively tropified his speeches in an endeavour to bring himself closer to his audience. He employed this technique through the use of metaphors, personifications, loose syntaxes and purposive statements. This technique is predominant in all the selected speeches. The rationality behind the use of tropes is to create vivid and elaborate meanings to the audience. Thus, with this realisation to a certain degree, research question number 1 has been answered.

Furthermore, the research established that President Pohamba was fond of the National Reconciliation policy, and as such, it is a regular component featuring in all the selected speeches under this study. Pohamba confirmed that the policy of National Reconciliation had ushered in a new dispensation of political stability, peace, unity, ethnic cohesion and security in Namibia. The president emphasised that Namibian people must continue to shun the vices of tribalism, sexism and corruption, among other things, a statement that covertly confirms the existence of these vices within the Namibian societies. This has been highlighted in all his speeches, thereby responding to research question number 1.

- **How clear was the President's language style – was it appropriate to his audience and the situation? (Research Question 2)**

The research discovered that Pohamba's word choice was quite remarkable in that the diction employed was simple and comprehensible, and accommodated every audience (of whom the majority speak English as second or foreign language). This happens to be a common characteristic throughout the selected five speeches under this study. The metaphors employed are simple, for instance, "the ship and the captain" is an illustration that is common to almost everyone. The use of such metaphors aided in the elaboration of language and thus, the speeches were made accessible to everyone. Thus, messages reached the universal audiences in the simplest but effective forms. This responded to the research question 2 of this study.

Additionally, the study established Pohamba's continual use of the 'together words' such as '*we*' which were probably employed to inculcate a spirit of togetherness and unity among the audience. His speeches therefore sought to bring the Namibian people together as a people who share common history, aspirations, yearns, and dreams. This goes further to show that the president and the audience shared the same beliefs and values. Pohamba invariably used 'together words' in his speeches: '*we*' and '*our*'. Some examples are: 'our beautiful country'; 'our struggle for national independence'; 'our great country'; 'our citizens'; 'our people'; 'all of us'; 'our nation'; 'our Government'; and 'our SWAPO party.' The constant use of these 'together words', '*our*' and '*we*', drew the audience in, to believe that they were part of the process of governance and not just passive participants. By using '*we*' and '*our*', the speaker emphasised the importance of the value of unity throughout his speeches. In one of the speeches,

Pohamba stressed that “just as unity was vital during the liberation struggle, it is still a very important element for the implementation of our common objectives⁴⁰⁸.” Standing united was the prerequisite for the achievement of common goals as a nation. Thus, research question above has been responded to.

- **Was there any correlation between the verbal and non-verbal communication in terms of gestures, text and images in President Pohamba’s speeches? (Research Question 3)**

The study found that the use of the speaker’s voice, gestures, texts, and images played a major role in the rhetoric of delivery. Since delivery focuses on *how* something is said, rather than on *what* is said thus, this study analysed President Pohamba’s expressive movements of arms and hands to emphasise ideas or emotions. It can, therefore, be argued that the research question which asked whether there was any correlation between the verbal and non-verbal communication in terms of gestures, texts and images in President Pohamba’ speeches, to a greater extent has been answered. The study found that the immediate audience responded positively to the President’s use of gestures, judging from the screaming of excitement from the audience when Pohamba emphasised using visual rhetoric. This shows how images persuade and describe the psychological communicative or rhetorical phenomena. In order to make the presentation of his inauguration speeches more interesting and capturing his audience’s attention, President Pohamba used visual rhetoric and ideograph to persuade his audiences.

⁴⁰⁸ Pohamba, H. (2007). 17th Independence Anniversary Address by his Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at Independence Stadium: Swakopmund.

Also, the research ascertained that the rate at which President Pohamba spoke exhibited him as an effective orator. Pohamba's speeches, as can be directly inferred from a rapid use of punctuation marks, were delivered in a relatively slow fashion to allow rapid and extensive assimilation of the message by the audience. However, a good speech is moderately regulated in terms of speed, it must not be too hastily delivered to allow audience to regurgitate the message, and it must not be too slow as this would give the speech a grossly insipid taste, thereby causing listeners to lose attention. This, therefore, affirms a response to research question number 3 of this study.

Lastly, the research also found that Pohamba articulated his messages through the use of figurative language, metaphors and repetitions. He specifically over-relied on these techniques in all the selected speeches for two reasons. These techniques were used to create audience acceptance and interest in his speech. The techniques were further used to stress his message for an extended assimilation in the inner ears of his audience. In other words, this may also be a direct retort to research question number 3 of this study.

Recommendations for Future Studies

This study was a rhetorical analysis of Pohamba's presidency during the first term of his Presidential term of office from March 2005 to March 2010. The study focused on how Pohamba's governance continued to shape democracy in independent Namibian government. Furthermore, the study specifically analysed how Pohamba's oratory was aimed at promoting reconciliation, nation building, driving economic emancipation of all Namibians, the country's

economic sustainability and deepening of national unity and tribal harmony. With that, this present research recommends that future research be done using other rhetoric theories such as Burke's theory of identification in the analysis of presidential speeches.

In addition, comparative studies on presidential speeches may be done. Future research may compare the first terms of each president of the same country spread over the period since that country attained its political independence. Future research may further apply different theories for a variety of findings. This again enhances better understanding of speech styles and rhetoric approaches and this may further enrich the comprehension of the concept.

Lastly, a regional comparative study may be done on presidential speeches by considering other countries and comparing them to Namibia, for instance, a comparison of Namibia and South Africa's first-term presidential speeches. This again expands the magnitudes of appreciating rhetoric as a crucial area of study, as one president is different from the next.

REFERENCES

- Allen, I. J. (2015). Rhetorical Personhood, and Democracy's Ongoing Constitution.
Advances in the History of Rhetoric, 18, (2) 195-215.
- Ambassador, D. F. (1990). *Nation Building: The U.N. and Namibia*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Angula, N. 1993. *Language Policy Evaluation and Implementation: Choices and Limitations*.
In: MEC (Ministry of Education and Culture), Namibia National Conference on the
Implementation of the Language Policy for Schools. Ongwediva Training Centre 22–26
June 1992 (16–24). Windhoek: Longman Namibia.
- Aristotle. (2007). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Translated by G. Kennedy.
New York: Oxford.
- Aristotle, (1994). Rhetoric, W. R. Roberts, trans www.bocc.ubi.pt
(Accessed 01 September 2015).
- Aristotle. (1987). Aristotle's Defense of rhetoric. Translated by M.P, Nichols
The Journal of Politics 49(3), 657-677.
- Aristotle, Roberts, W. R., Bywater, I., In Solmsen, F., & Aristotle, (1954). *Rhetoric*. New York:
Modern Library.
- Arnold, C. C (1968). Oral Rhetorics, Rhetoric and Literature. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*:
1(4) 191-210.
- Beale, W. H. (1978). Rhetorical performative discourse: A new theory of epideictic.
Philosophy & Rhetoric, 221-246.
- Behling, L.L (2014). Politics and the Pandemic: HIV/AIDS, Africa, and the Discourse of
Disability: Review of Disability studies: *An International Journal* 2(3).
- Bitzer, L. F. (1992). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, (1), 1-14.

- Bitzer, L. F. (1981). *Political Rhetoric*. In D. D. Nimmo & K. R. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of Political communication*. Beverly Hills: CA: Sage.
- Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The Rhetorical Situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1(1), 1-104.
- Blight, M. C; Kohle, I. C; Meindl, J. R (2004). Charisma Under Crisis: Presidential leadership, Rhetoric, and Media Responses Before and After the September 11th Terrorist Attacks: *Leadership Quarterly* 15 (2004) 211–239.
- Bostdorff, D. M. & Ferris, S. H. (2014). John F. Kennedy at American University: The Rhetoric of the Possible, epideictic progression, and the commencement of peace, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 100 (4), 407-441.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press.
- Buchanan, L. (2002). Regendering delivery: The Fifth Canon and the Maternal Rhetor 1. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 32(4), 51-73.
- Burgchardt, C. R. (2000). *Readings in Rhetorical Criticism* (2nd ed.). State College, PA: Strata Pub.
- Burke, K. (1969). *A Rhetoric of Motives*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Butler, H. E. (1925). *Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria*. Book I. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by FH Colson. One vol. Pp. xcvi+208. Cambridge University Press, 1924. 21s.
- Campbell, K. K. & Jamieson, K. H. (1990). Inaugurating the Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 394-411.
- Campbell, K. K. & Jamieson, K. H. (1990). *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*. University of Chicago Press.

- Cathcart, R. S. (1981). *Post-communication: Rhetorical Analysis and Evaluation*. Bobbs-Merrill Educational Pub.
- Carter, M. F. (1991). The Ritual Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric: The case of Socrates' funeral Oration. *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 9(3), 209-232.
- Casey, K. (1996). Aristotle's "Rhetoric": An Art of Character. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 29(4), 436-440.
- Ceaser, J, Thurow, G. E., Tulis, J., & Bessette, J. M. (1981). The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 11, 158-171.
- Chaka, M. (2014). The Rhetorical Makers of Nation-building in Presidential speeches: *African Journal of Rhetoric*, 6(1), 195-263.
- Charles, W. & Floyd, D. (1980). Uniting Wisdom and Eloquence: The Need for Rhetorical Invention, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 66(1), 313-326.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2005). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cicero. (1954). *Rhetorica ad herennium*. Translated by Caplan Henry. Loeb Classical library. Harvad University Press.
- Cohen J. (1983). Academic Journal Article. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33 (2) 42-170.
- Conger, A. J and Kanungo, R. (1987). Toward a behavioral theory of charismatic leadership in organizational settings. *The Academy of Management Review*, 12, (4), 637-647.
- Conley, T. (1990). *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*. New York: Longman.
- Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (2nd ed)* (2010). Windhoek: Ministry Information Communication and Technology.
- Corbett, E. P. (1965). *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern student*. Oxford University Press.
- Crosswhite, J. (1989). Universality in Rhetoric: Perelman's universal audience.

- Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 22(1), 157-173.
- Covino, W.A. & Jolliffe D. A. (1995). *Rhetoric. Concepts, Definitions, Boundaries*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.
- Denton, R.E. Jr. & Hahn, D. F. (1986) *Presidential Communication*. New York: Praeger.
- Donnelly, F. P (1912). A Function of the Classical Rhetoric Exordium. *The Classical weekly*, 5(26), 204-207
- Elden, S. (2005). Reading Logos as Speech: Heidegger, Aristotle and Rhetorical Politics. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 38(4), 281-301.
- Ellis, R. J., ed. 1998. *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Eshbaugh-S, M. (2010). The Politics of Presidential Speeches. In: *Congress & the Presidency*. 37(1), 1-121.
- Eshbaugh-S, M. & Peake, J. S. (2008). The Presidency and Local Media: Local Newspaper Coverage of President George W. Bush. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 38(4), 609-630.
- Fahnestock, J., & Secor, M. (1982). *A Rhetoric of Argument*. New York: Random House.
- Farrel M. J. C (2005). A Rhetoric of Silence. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 35(4) 123-127.
- Fiol CM, Harris D, House R. (1999). Charismatic Leadership: Strategies for Effecting social change: *Leadership Quarterly*, 10(3), 449- 482.
- Foley, M. (2015). Time for epideictic. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101(1), 209-212.
- Foss, S. K. (2005). Theory of Visual Rhetoric. *Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media*, 141-152.
- Foss, S.K. (1996). *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*. (2nd Ed.) Prospect Heights: Waveland.

- Gastrow, S. (1993). *Bowker-Saur. Who's who in South African Politics?* H. Zell. ISBN 9781873836064. Retrieved 05 June 2016.
- G. Dorsey (Ed.), *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership* (pp. 20-41). College Station, TX: Texas: A & M University Press.
- Giliomee H, 2009. A Note on Bantu Education 1953-1970 *South African Journal of Economics*, 77(1), 190-198.
- Glenn, C. (2004). *Unspoken. A Rhetoric of Silence*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Goredema, R. (2010). African Feminism: the African Woman's Struggle for Identity. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 1(1), 33-41.
- Gross, Alan G.; Dascal, 2001. Marcelo: The conceptual unity of Aristotle's rhetoric. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*. 34 (4), 275-291.
- Gross, A. (1999). A Theory of the Rhetorical Audience: Reflections on Chaim Perelman. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 85(2), 203-211.
- Hallsby, A. (2015). Imagine there's no President: The rhetorical secret and the exposure of Valerie Plame. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101(2), 354-378.
- Hauser, G. A. (1999). Aristotle on Epideictic: The Formation of Public Morality, *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (29)1, 5-23.
- Ivie, R. (2002). Rhetorical Deliberation and Democratic Politics in the Here and Now. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 5(2), 283-301.
- Ivie, R. (1987). The Complete Criticism of Political Rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 73(1), 98-107.

- Jones, C. O. (2010). "The inaugural address: Ceremony of transitions." *The president's words: speeches and speechwriting in the modern White House*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 87-110. Print.
- Kallenbach, J. 1966. *The American Chief Executive*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Kahn, V. A. (1985). *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kangira, J. & Mungenga, J. (2012). Praiseworthy values in President Hifikepunye Pohamba's epideictic speech marking Namibia's 20th anniversary of independence. *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 109-116.
- Kuypers, J. A. (2014). *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Kuypers, J. A. (2010). *Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kuypers, J. A. (2009). *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Lim, E. T. (2002). Five trends in presidential rhetoric: An analysis of Rhetoric from George W. Washington to Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32(10) 328-348.
- Luscombe, A. & Nonnenberg, H. (2015). Practicing the five canons of rhetoric. Retrieved From https://www.academia.edu/15359943/Practicing_the_Five_Canons_of_Rhetoric.
- Mashiangaidze, F.K (1981). *The Decolonisation of Africa: Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The Role for Liberation Movements in the Struggle for Southern Africa*. Paris: Imprimerie Tardy Quercy.
- Mathe, A.I. (2006). *Canons of Classical Rhetoric in Sam Nujoma's State of the Nation addresses (11) (Mini-dissertation)*. Bloemfontein, South Africa: University of Free State.

McGee, M. C. (1980). The “ideograph”: A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology.

Quarterly journal of speech, 66(1), 1-16.

Medhurst, M. J. (Ed.). (1996). Beyond the rhetorical presidency. Texas A & M University
Department of Rhetoric and Communication.

Myers, F. (1999). Political argumentation and the composite audience: A case study.

Quarterly Journal of Speech, 85(1), 55-71.

Namibia “State House Cost Yet to Be Ascertained” allAfrica.com all

africa.com/stories/200804170634.html. Accessed on the 10 October 2017.

Nichols, M. P. (1987). Aristotle's defense of rhetoric. *The Journal of Politics*, 49(3), 657-677.

Nujoma, S. (2001). *Where others wavered*. London: Panaf.

Nujoma, S. (1996). 16th Independence anniversary address by His Excellency President Sam
Nujoma: Windhoek.

Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1991). The New Rhetoric a Treatise on Argumentation:
The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 1(5), 397

Perelman, C., Winchester, J., & Verene, M.B. (1984). Rhetoric and Politics,
Philosophy & Rhetoric, 17 (3), 129-134.

Perelman, C. (1982). The Realm of Rhetoric. Translated by Klubark W. Notre Dame, Indiana:
University of Notre Dame Press.

Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The New Rhetoric: A treatise on
Argumentation*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Pohamba, H. (2009). 19th Independence Anniversary Address by His Excellency President
Hifikepunye Pohamba: Keetmanshoop.

Pohamba, H. (2008). 18th Independence anniversary address by His Excellency President
Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.

- Pohamba, H. (2007). 17th Independence anniversary address by His Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Swakopmund
- Pohamba, H. (2006). 16th Independence anniversary address by His Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba: Windhoek.
- Pohamba, H. (2005). First Inaugural address by His Excellency President Hifikepunye Pohamba at his inauguration as President of the Republic of Namibia [for his first term of office]. Independence Stadium: Windhoek.
- Porter, J. (2014). *Know the Three Modes of Persuasion*. Retrieved from <http://www.jrmyptr.com/modes-of-persuasion> retrieved 30 June 2017.
- Rhetorica ad Herennium (1954) *Cicero Translated by Caplan Henry*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ritter, K. & Medhurst, M. (2004). *Presidential Speechwriting: From the New Deal to the Reagan Revolution*. Texas A&M University Press.
- Ryan, L. T (2003). Evolution of the Modern Rhetorical Presidency: Presidential presentation and development of the State of the Union Address, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33 (2) 333-346.
- Salazar, P. J. (2009). Nobel Rhetoric; or, Petrarch's Pendulum. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 42(4), 373-400.
- Salazar, PH- J. (2003). *"The Joint Sitting of Parliament, 15 April 2003. A rhetorical view of the reparations debate"*, in E. Doxtader and Ch Villa-Vicencio, *The irreparable to repair. Repairs and reconstruction in South Africa*. Cape Town, David Philip, 2004 (in press).
- Salazar, Ph-J. (2002). *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the shaping of democracy in South Africa*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Saunders, C. (2017). Decolonization in Southern Africa: Reflections on the Namibian and the South African cases. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 42(1), 99-114.
- Self, L. S., (1979). Rhetoric and Pronesis: The Aristotelian ideal. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 12(2), 130-145.
- Sheard, C. M. (1996). The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric. *College English*, 58(7), 765-794.
- Sigelman, L. (1996). Presidential Inaugurals: The Modernization of a Genre. *Political Communication*, 13(1), 81-92.
- Silva Rhetoricae, (2016). *The Rhetoric of the Forest*. Utah: Brigham Young University. Retrieved 18 November, 2017 from <http://humanities>.
- Slavicková T. (2013) The Rhetoric of Remembrance: Presidential Memorial Day speeches. *Discourse & Society*, 24(3) 361–379.
- SWAPO. 1981. *To Be Born a Nation: The Liberation Struggle for Namibia*. London: Zed Press.
- Sobczak, B. (2013). The Rhetoric of Reconciliation. *Rhetoricae*, 2(1) 51-67.
- Stuckey, M. (2010). Rethinking the Rhetorical Presidency and Presidential Rhetoric. *Review of Communication*, 10(1), 38-52.
- Stuckey, M. E. (2006). Establishing the Rhetorical Presidency through Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt and the Brownsville Raid. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 92(1), 287-309.
- Sullivan, D. L (1993). The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter: *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 26(2) 113-133.
- Thomas, G.L. (1989). *Aaron Burr's Farewell Address*. In S.K. Foss, (Ed.), *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & practice* (pp.81-107). Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.
- Tulis, J. (1987). *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Massachusetts & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Vickers, B. & Johnstone, C. L. (2001). “Rhetoric and Philosophy” and “Perennial topics and terms.” In: *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 583–601.
- Weber, M. (1946). In H. H. Gerth, & C. W. Mills (Eds.), *From Max Weber*. New York: Oxford, University Press.
- White, S. B. (2006). Telling the story: Kansas City Mayor and United Methodist Pastor Emanuel Cleaver’s Use of Storytelling to Transcend Rhetorical barriers. *Journal of African American Studies*, 9(4), 32-44.
- Windt, T. (1986). Presidential Rhetoric: Definition of a Field of Study. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 6(1), 102-116.
- Yack, B. (2006). Rhetoric and Public Reasoning: An Aristotelian Understanding of Political Deliberation. *Political Theory*, 34(4), 417-438.
- Yoos, G. E. (1979). A Revision of the Ethical Appeal: *Philosophy & Rhetoric*. 12(1) 41-45.
- Zarefsky, D. (2004). Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34(3), 607-619.
- NBC (prod.). 2005. President Hifikepunye Pohamba’s inaugural address. [Video recording]. Windhoek NBC
- <http://www.pohambafoundation.com/HE's%20Biography2.pdf> (Accessed 05 June 2016).

APPENDIX (IA 1.)

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBA

Director of Ceremonies,
Your Excellency, Father of the Namibian Nation and My Predecessor, Comrade Sam Shafiishuuna Nujoma,
Your Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the African Union (AU),
Your Majesties,
Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government,
Former Heads of State and Government,
Honourable Speaker of the National Assembly,
Honourable Chairperson of the National Council,
Honourable Chief Justice of the Republic of Namibia,
Honourable Members of Parliament,
Leaders of Political Parties,
Your Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Distinguished Invited Guests, Fellow Namibians:

1. I stand before you today filled with pride, gratitude and humility. A little while ago, I took a solemn oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. I swore that I will, from this day on, dedicate myself to the service and well-being of the people of Namibia, without exception, and to do right to all.
2. Once again, a new dawn has set on our beautiful country. Once again, we stand at the delicate moment when a nation pauses, takes a look at itself and recharges its energy and renews itself for the greater challenges that lie ahead. From this day onwards, our country will continue to be coast towards the future as a united, democratic, and prosperous nation.
3. I give special thanks to all the good people of this country who freely and overwhelmingly renewed the mandate of the SWAPO Party and reposed their confidence in me by electing me as the 2nd President of the Republic of Namibia to lead this country for the next five years. I accept your mandate with sincere gratitude and humility. Your unequivocal support gives me the courage to face the challenges that lie before us.
4. I wish to pay special tribute to the great and gallant Namibians who lost their lives in the cause of the struggle for liberty, democracy and freedom. They held the beacon of freedom and liberty high in the face of a long and bitter struggle. Their sacrifices have not been in vain. We will always remember them. It is, therefore, befitting that I took the oath of Office here at the Independence Stadium, a shrine at which the first President and

the founding Father of our Nation Comrade Sam Shafiishuuna Nujoma took the oath of Office on 21st March 1990. On that historic day we opened the way for the birth of the sovereign, secular, democratic and unitary Namibian state.

5. I would, therefore, like to express my deep-founded appreciation to Comrade Sam Nujoma, the legendary freedom fighter, leader of the national liberation struggle and founding President of the SWAPO Party, the first President of the Republic of Namibia for having nominated me to contest the SWAPO Party's primaries for the election of the SWAPO Party's Republican presidential candidate. I also thank him from the bottom of my heart for his support and encouragement during the election campaign in November last year. Comrade President Nujoma will go down in history with distinction for uniting and leading the Namibian people in the struggle for national independence; for fostering peace, stability, security and national reconciliation; and for spearheading the social and economic reconstruction of Namibia.
6. The achievements of President Nujoma throughout the years of his illustrious leadership should inspire all Namibians to emulate his self-sacrifice and dedication to service. We must endeavour to uphold the legacy of President Nujoma by continuing to maintain unity, peace, security, stability and prosperity. Our Government will always knock at his door to give us advice in our endeavours. May his wisdom remain at the service of the nation, and may he continue to enjoy good health for many years to come.
7. I welcome Your Excellencies, Your Majesties and Your Royal Highnesses, and honourable dignitaries and distinguished guests to this historic inaugural ceremony. I feel greatly honoured that so many of you could travel from all corners of the globe and from all parts of our country to lend importance and dignity to this occasion. I thank you most sincerely for your presence which, in itself, constitutes a tribute to the tens of thousands of our people and a profound statement of hope that all of us will, together, continue to expand the frontiers of human development and dignity.

Fellow Namibians,

8. This day serves not only as the day on which I inherit the mantle of office of President of Namibia. It is also, a day for celebrating fifteen years of our independence. On that historic day of 21 March 1990, after a protracted and bitter struggle, we achieved our objective of political emancipation when we hoisted the Namibian flag of freedom, independence and sovereignty, and lowered, for the very last time, the apartheid flag, which represented colonialism, with all its ugly faces, white minority domination and oppression. The vote for freedom and democracy was, and remains, an irreversible choice by all our people. We have every reason to believe that a brighter future shines on the horizon for our country. We are forging one united nation on the anvil of our collective sweat and blood; it is a nation tempered in the crucibles of our collective determination. This is the triumph of freedom and democracy.

Fellow Namibians,

9. During the past fifteen years, we have demonstrated that our goals are achievable. Above all, Namibians have shown that by joining hands and working together, even the most difficult problems can be overcome.
10. Our policy of national reconciliation has contributed to creating a society that is largely in harmony and at peace with itself. However, it is important that national reconciliation becomes a two-way process. We must all embrace it. We must remember that we have a common destiny. It is time for all of us to embrace our diverse cultures. It is time for all of us to rally behind one another as one people with a common destiny. It is time for all of us to prepare the ground for our children and their children's children.
11. Now, more than ever, we must be united. Just as unity was vital in the liberation struggle, it is still very important for the implementation of our common objectives. That is the only way in which the nation can prioritise its needs and fully exploit its potential. A divided community spends valuable time in internal wrangles that can only sap its strength and ensure its failure. In the famous words of my predecessor, Comrade Nujoma, "a people united, striving to achieve common good for all members of the society, will always emerge victorious".

Fellow Namibians,

12. We will continue to pursue the policy of sacrifice and hard work that was initiated by our SWAPO Party Government. As before, there will be zero tolerance for waste and corruption in public life. I, therefore, make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example.
13. Our experience in the past fifteen years has informed a new realism in our approach to serving the people. I am conscious that peace, security and stability we enjoy today will have to be accompanied by sustainable economic growth, social development, discipline and self-sacrifice. The question of disparity in socio-economic development, unemployment and poverty will only be addressed effectively if we transform the Namibian economy and accelerate economic growth. This should be done with a strong emphasis on empowering the previously disadvantaged citizens through education, training, and skills development underpinned by efficient economic management and productivity. Let us, therefore, not leave a legacy of high-sounding ambitions and unrealized dreams. Let us, together, set out to make a positive difference. Let us stay the course and not deviate from the chosen path of selfless devotion to duty, honour, integrity and diligence which my predecessor walked.
14. Equally important is the need to redouble our efforts in our collective fight against HIV/AIDS. The scourge of HIV/AIDS is a serious socio-economic problem with a

devastating effect on the social fabric of our country. The rate at which the disease is spreading is alarming and the care of the increasing numbers of people affected by HIV/AIDS puts a heavy burden on our health and financial resources. We will, therefore, work towards increasing our efforts and ensuring that existing strategies are complemented with additional multifaceted efforts from all sections of society.

Fellow Namibians,

15. We pledge to you, the people of Namibia, that we will continue to devise programmes and projects aimed at meeting the expectations and aspiration of our people who have consistently given the SWAPO Party the mandate to govern since independence.
16. I pay special tribute to all Namibians who continue to have confidence in the SWAPO Party as the Party for change and progress. We must unite as one nation and one people to build a safe and prosperous Namibia. I call on all Namibians to work with our new Government to realise the enormous potential of our country. Let us smile and take that smile with us into tomorrow as we continue to work hard to attain socio-economic development within the framework of Vision 2030, which is our roadmap for peace, stability, security and socioeconomic development.
17. I call on the rank and file and supporters of the SWAPO Party to rally behind the Party and its Government, in one formation, as they have done in the past. This will assist our Government in its efforts to maintain peace, security and stability, in its efforts to attain all round development for all Namibians. Without your advice and support we cannot achieve much. I thank you for your consistent support.
18. I pay tribute to all the workers of this nation. It is their diligence and dedication that have transformed the economy of this country from a colonial economy to a free, participatory economy. It is their toil that continues to sustain and nourish the economy that continues to give us the means to tackle the nation's developmental goals. We are aware that some of our workers work under very harsh and inhumane conditions for a mere pittance, in most cases. Our Government will ensure that the new Labour Act that my predecessor promulgated last year is brought into force shortly. It is a comprehensive legal framework to deal with many of the problems that confront our workers.

19. I am happy to note that my predecessor laid a strong foundation in the form of

legislative and administrative measures necessary for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of women. The incoming SWAPO Party Government will continue to build on the gains scored by our previous SWAPO Party Government in this regard by ensuring that the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of Namibian women are realised to a marked degree. We are all aware of the invaluable contribution and commendable sacrifices that our women made during the liberation struggle, as well as their useful contribution in nation-building and national development in Independent Namibia. We will always be indebted to them.

20. Our Government, like the previous Government, will always look up to our senior citizens and elders for their inestimable advice and support. They played a critical role in the struggle for independence; they continue to play a pivotal role in nation-building and socioeconomic development. I salute them. Our Government will continue to look for ways and means of showing the nation's appreciation for what our senior citizens and elders have done to make Namibia what it is today – a free, progressive and forward-looking country.

21. It has always been said that traditional leaders are custodians of our cultural heritage; they are also promoters of our traditional values – without these we will be lost as a nation. We will, therefore, always hold them in high esteem. We will continue to rely on the Council of Traditional Leaders to advise us on critical matters such as control and utilization of communal land and customary law.

22. I wish also to pay tribute to the youth of our country. Like their older compatriots, the youth also played an important role in the armed liberation struggle. They continue to play an important role in the struggle for socio-economic development. I am aware that the youth are the political, business, traditional, academic and community leaders of tomorrow. They must, therefore, be prepared sufficiently to make them useful and decent members of our society. We will, therefore, continue to place education and training of the youth at the top of the agenda for development. We will also continue to allocate a sizeable part of the national budget to education and training of our youth so as to equip them with the tools they need to contribute meaningfully to socio-economic development of our country.

Fellow Namibians,

23. Some of us identify ourselves with our noble and hardworking peasants. We are a part of them. We salute them for their persistent contribution to economic development, particularly of the rural areas, under very harsh conditions and meagre resources. I reaffirm the policy of the SWAPO Party Government to uplift the living standards of our rural population to enable them to contribute to our ongoing efforts to attain socio-

economic development. In this regard, we will initiate and strengthen programmes and projects that conduce to improved agricultural output that provide safe drinking water, electricity, adequate and affordable medical facilities and service, and improved infrastructures like feeder roads.

24. I wish to pay tribute also to the business community. Their business activities not only bring in revenue needed for national sustenance and development but also employment and income to Namibian workers. The good relations that existed between the business community and the SWAPO Party Government, under the leadership of my predecessor, will be cemented and strengthened to ensure the building of a strong economy for the benefit of the whole country.
25. Last but not least, I pay tribute to religious and spiritual leaders of our country and their religious organisations. They have always promoted the religious upbringing of our people and looked after the spiritual side of our existence. Their unshakable and persistent stand against apartheid colonialism is well known. They continue to fight for social emancipation and social justice with usual vigour and single-mindedness. On our part, we will always call on them for advice and support in our effort to maintain peace, stability and security and to promote reconciliation and social justice in Namibia. *Fellow Namibians,*
26. Let me thank our international friends who, together with us, fought for Namibia's freedom and independence. Namibia gained her independence under the banner of solidarity, freedom and justice. To that end, Namibia will pursue a dynamic foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all nations. It will also continue to play a constructive role in the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the African Union, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and other international bodies.
27. Today, more than ever before, there is a need for a strengthened United Nations, an organization fully geared to respond to new challenges and which reflects the realities of our time. Namibia will continue to support the United Nations reform efforts including the need for the Security Council to be more representative and gain capacity for maintaining peace in the world. We will continue to support the humanitarian and development programmes of the United Nations. Nonetheless, the reform of the UN, including the UN Security Council, to make it more representative and democratic so as to preserve its legitimacy and credibility remains a critical objective. Equally, the need for the reform of the world financial institutions to be more responsive to the needs and the realities of developing countries cannot be over-emphasised.

28. In this connection, Namibia will continue to play her role to ensure the success of the

African Union and its programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). We will continue to support the strengthening of the AU's capacity for conflict prevention, resolution and management across the continent. We cannot hope to build a vibrant and prosperous Namibia unless we are at peace with our neighbours. A peaceful Namibia needs peaceful neighbours, peaceful continent and peaceful world.

29. We will continue to promote Namibia's membership of SACU and SADC as pillars of the southern African economic community. In addition, we will also continue to pursue the policy of the Non-Aligned Movement, good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence and cooperation, including South-South cooperation. We will further continue to support regional integration in the sub-region through SADC in order to maintain peace, and pull our efforts towards economic development. In addition, there is a need for the rationalization and strengthening of regional economic communities (RECs) and the involvement of the private sector and civil society across the continent.

Fellow Namibians,

30. I am convinced that we can live in peace and harmony, because the power of our common values and goals exceeds our differences. Our strength lies in the colourful diversity of the Namibian people, and in our different backgrounds, skills, and knowledge.

31. During my tenure, I will do my best to serve all Namibians. In this task, I need your support and assistance. Let us not be afraid of the difficulties and uncertainties ahead. Instead, let us build on co-operation, mutual understanding and trust.

32. With the support of all of you, the people of Namibia, and our friends from across the world, we will lead you to a prosperous, progressive and peaceful Namibia, and serve you with justice and with fairness.

I thank you.

LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

APPENDIX (IA 2.)

CELEBRATION OF THE 16TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2006, INDEPENDENCE STADIUM BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBA

Honourable Ministers,
Honourable Deputy Speaker of National Council,
Honourable Members of Parliament,
Honourable Governor of Khomas Region,
Your Worship Major of City of Windhoek,
Your Excellency Member of Diplomatic Corps,
Distinguished Invited Guests,
Fellow Namibians,

1. On the happy occasion of the celebration of our 16th year of freedom and nationhood, I have the honour to address the nation from the National Capital Windhoek today, 21st March 2006. We commemorate our collective victory against the forces of colonial oppression and apartheid. On 21st March 1990, we proclaimed loudly and clearly, for the whole world to hear, that from that day forward, Namibia joined the community of nations as a free, democratic and sovereign nation. At the same time, we set for ourselves a new course to chart our own destiny and to shape our own future. We woke to that beautiful dawn of independence with the full knowledge that the process of nation building would be an arduous task requiring full participation of all our people.
2. It is for this reason that we adopted the policy of National Reconciliation in order to heal the wounds of the past and to move forward together in unity of purpose. This policy has served our country and all her people well. As a result, our country has enjoyed peace and stability since our independence. Indeed, Namibia has become an oasis of peace in a turbulent world.
3. We therefore, have a collective duty to preserve and defend our hard- won freedom, peace and stability. We must guard against all tendencies of discrimination, tribalism or regionalism, because they can cause strife and conflict.
4. Doing otherwise is tantamount to betrayal of the sacrifices made by those who gave their lives during the course of our struggle for freedom and independence. In fact, such tendencies can prove to be more dangerous and destructive than colonialism and apartheid. We must stand together as one nation, under the banner of “One Namibia, One Nation.” As we mark our 16th Independence Anniversary, it will be amiss if we do not pay tribute to our heroes and heroines, the martyrs of our revolution. It was the sweat and blood of our forefathers and mothers that inspired us to fight for our freedom and independence. We remember our heroes and heroines such as Captain Hendrik Witbooi,

Chief Samuel Maharero, Jacob Marenga, Nehale iyaMpingana, Mandume yaNdemufayo, Iipumbu yaTshirongo and many others.

5. We also pay tribute to the brave sons and daughters of Namibia, the cadres of the people's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), who fought fearlessly until final victory was won. Today, Namibia is at peace with herself and all her neighbours. We should stand tall and be proud that Namibia is viewed as one of the shining examples of stability, tolerance and national harmony in the region and beyond. Our people enjoy fundamental human rights and freedoms under the protection of the supreme law of the land, the Namibian Constitution. We have created durable institutions to facilitate and promote good governance as well as delivery mechanisms to provide our people with public goods and amenities.
6. On this special occasion of our 16th Independence Anniversary, I can say with confidence and pride that our country is poised to face and overcome the challenges of the future. We stand ready to implement policies and programmes that are aimed at facilitating economic growth, reducing unemployment, combating the HIV/Aids pandemic, fighting poverty in rural and peri-urban areas and addressing the challenges faced by our youth. We are moving with determination and clear focus to improve public service delivery, to eliminate waste and duplication of efforts, while adding greater momentum to our thrush of promoting transparency, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness. It should be clear; we will not relent in our drive to root out corruption in all sectors of the Namibian society. We believe that corruption undermines our efforts to move our country forward on the path of prosperity, and the improvement of the standards of living of all our people.
7. Corruption is an enemy of the Namibian people, it is an enemy of the poor, it is an enemy of the sick, it is an enemy of the unemployed, it is an enemy of those who seek better education, and above all it is a threat against our democracy, peace, security, and stability. We must make sure that the Anti-Corruption Commission which was established recently is given all the necessary support by all our citizens so that it can fulfil its mandate. We expected the Commission to deal with and bring to book all culprits without fear or favour, irrespective of their status in society. Let us, therefore, join hands to defeat this enemy of the Namibian people.
8. The achievement of political freedom and independence must be accompanied by economic empowerment of our people; creation of employment opportunities and: indeed the distribution of the fruits of independence to all corners of the country in pursuit of our National Development Plans and Vision 2030. Towards this end, The Swapo Party Government has put in place policies and programmes aimed at speeding-up the achievement of our national developmental objectives. Specific focus will continue to be placed on development in rural and peri-urban areas in order to address the difficult living conditions faced by the majority of our citizens. The Government is planning to create a Special Economic Development Zones across our rural areas, with the view to promoting and stimulating economic activities. As part of this strategy, the Government plans to build feeder roads and other infrastructures that can serve as a basis for sustainable economic growth.

9. In order to assist our youth, the National Youth Service (NYS) has been mandated to become more active by recruiting more trainees who will be equipped with relevant skills in different disciplines. In fact, the NYS has already started with programmes to train our youth. Upon graduation, some of these trainees are expected to impart knowledge and skill to new recruits and thereby make the service more sustainable. Others are expected to enter the formal economy, both in public and private sectors.
10. Another area of great concern for the government is the economic empowerment of Namibian women. Yes, it is true that we introduced and enacted laws to address discrimination that our women suffered in the colonial past. However, I believe that we need to take more practical steps to empower our women within the existing programmes such as land reform, support for small and medium enterprises, as well as through training and skills development initiatives that can enable Namibian women to successfully manage business enterprises and income generating projects.
11. Our government will continue to address the plight of our senior citizens with a view to ensuring that their basic needs are met. We will continue to promote the welfare of our workers by promoting the concept of smart partnership among the government, employers and workers. By so doing, we will promote industrial peace and productivity. In order to create wealth, our people must enjoy good health. This means that they should have access to adequate health care delivered in an efficient and effective manner. Our health care system faces enormous strain because of the HIV/Aids pandemic. While the challenge is enormous, our response has been equally forceful.
12. In order to stem the tide, the government has introduced programmes to provide anti-retroviral treatment to those infected and to prevent the transmission of the virus from mothers to their babies. These programmes are available at all major health facilities in our country. However, in order to make a long-term impact, plans are underway to expand the availability of these services to more Namibians. I believe that all our citizens who need these services should have access to them. This must go hand-in hand with concerted campaigns to increase awareness of the pandemic among our citizens, particularly the youth. I believe that through concerted efforts and the resultant change of behaviour, we can reverse the trend and halt the spread of HIV infections. Our people must make personal pledges to behave responsibly for the love of their fellow citizens and for the sake of our country.
13. I would like to use this opportunity to call upon all our citizens to join hands to work closely with our government with a view to adequately addressing HIV/Aids pandemic. Many Namibians shed their precious blood and sacrificed their lives for the freedom that we enjoy today. Let us honour them by building a healthy and prosperous nation. I am convinced that increased local food production should form an integral part of our strategies to develop Namibia. The Green Scheme Agency was established as part of this strategy with the mandate to promote local cultivation and production of various crops along our perennial rivers for local consumption.
14. More specifically, through the Green Scheme, Small-scale farmers are being trained through mentorship programmes to become independent food growers. The Government provides a package of incentives to both small scale farmers and to the commercial

farmers who participate in the programme. Another way in which the government is encouraging food production is through the implementation of fish farming and aquaculture projects. These efforts are part of our broader strategy to make the agricultural sector in Namibia more productive with a view to meeting to growth needs of our nation. We can only achieve these noble objectives if we all embrace the concept of Public-Private Partnership (PPP).

15. In the broader sense, we have made a commitment to implement the mandate given to us by the Namibia people at the ballot box, in November 2004. We will continue to implement that mandate with dedication and commitment. One year ago, our country achieved a historic milestone when we witnessed a peaceful transition of power from the Founding President to me as the Second President of the Republic. This is a vivid indication that our tree of democracy has grown deep roots. We have held regular peaceful, free and fair elections, which signify and underscore the maturity of our democratic system and the growth of our institutions.
16. During the last fifteen years, my predecessor, Comrade Sam Nuyoma, stood at the helm and steered our country towards a stable future within the framework of collective leadership. For this, the founding fathers and mothers of our Republic deserve unreserved commendation. I also wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to the people of Namibia for giving me the mandate, through the ballot box. I believe that the lessons that we learned in the last fifteen years will stand us in good stead as we march in unity toward the future. A strong foundation has been laid, we must now continue to build on the successes that we have achieved. We need peace, security and stability. We need to embrace national reconciliation, tolerance and mutual understanding. We need unity and inclusiveness. These are prerequisites for progress in all our endeavours. I am fully aware that there are many challenges that we face, in the process of nation building.
17. However, I am equally confident that we are walking on the right path. A path that can take our country towards a brighter future. We in government are committed to do what is right in the interests of our country and her people. We are committed to work hard and fulfil the mandate given to us by the Namibian people to steer our proverbial ship in a safe direction.
18. I am privileged to be the Captain of this ship. I call upon all passengers of this ship and all Namibians to work together as a team. We must all do our duties so that our country can move forward. There will be times when the seas are stormy and the mission appears difficult. That is part of the journey and we should never give up, because there will come a brightest day. The difficulties that we encounter on this journey should only sharpen our resolve to achieve our goals and objectives. Together, we can take Namibia to higher levels of development, peace, and prosperity. I wish our nation a happy 16th independence Anniversary.

APPENDIX (IA 3.)

CELEBRATION OF THE 17TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2007, SWAKOPMUND

1. I am honoured to address our Nation on the eve of Namibia's Seventeenth Anniversary. On 21 March 1990, the people of Namibia stood together and spoke with one voice that Namibia was forever free and independent. We declared unequivocally that we have reclaimed our sovereignty and that Namibia will never be a colony again.
2. Seventeen years later, we take pause to reflect on the journey that we have travelled. We look at the successes we have achieved and to the setbacks that we have encountered, with the aim of achieving more, governing better and planning more effectively to take our country to greater heights of economic growth, social advancement and prosperity.
3. After many decades of inhuman treatment, torture and violence, there was an urgent need to assure all our citizens that, in the post-independence dispensation, peace, stability and security would enjoy priority from our Government. Indeed, our SWAPO Party Government had believed in ensuring that the violence and pain inflicted on our people would become a thing of the past.
4. In its place, we introduced the policy of National Reconciliation in order to mould a new and united nation and to heal the wounds of the past. The Policy of National Reconciliation has served our people well. Instead of retributions and backlash, we have created a stable society where our people work together for the achievement of our common goals of economic development and the improvement of the living standards of all our people.
5. Today, we celebrate seventeen years of sovereignty, freedom and independence. Although seventeen years is a relatively short period in the history of nations, we can be proud of the advances we have made and the successes we have scored in making Namibia a better place for all her citizens to live in. As we build on the success that we have scored to date, our priorities continue to centre around the provision of social amenities to all our people, promoting economic growth, fighting poverty, expanding our physical and communications infrastructure, addressing landlessness and ensuring safety and security in our country. We have made notable strides in these areas through the implementation of targeted policies and programmes.

6. We are committed to further expanding access and improving quality in our education system. Through, the Education Sector Improvement Programme, measures will be put in place to ensure high quality teaching and higher pass rates at all levels our education system. Government has taken a decision to re-incorporate pre-primary education into our public education system. This initiative will be resourced to ensure that Namibia children have a strong foundation when they start their formal education careers.
7. Government is committed to address youth unemployment among our school-leaves, many of whom are still in their teens. Measures such as those implemented through the National Youth Service and Vocational Training Programmes are aimed at addressing this challenge. Considerations are currently being made to expand vocational training opportunities through the establishment of more vocational training institutions.
8. In the health sector, new hospitals, medical centres and clinics were constructed, upgraded and renovated over the years to cater for the health care needs of our citizens. In order to cope with the HIV/Aids pandemic, our Government has initiated interventions such as the provision of anti-retroviral therapy, treatment to prevent the spread of the virus from expectant mothers to their unborn children, counselling services as well as voluntary testing services.
9. Despite these interventions, the bad news is that, the number of orphans, whose parents succumb to the disease, is increasing. In response, our Government has introduced policies to address the plight of orphans and vulnerable children in our society through the provision of grants and other forms of assistance. The provisions of potable water and sanitation services have also been expanded. Today, many residents in rural areas have access to safe drinking water for themselves and their livestock.
10. The provision of electricity is crucial for the economic development of our country. It is for this reason that the rural electrification programme was introduced to bring the benefits of electric power to our citizens, particularly those in rural areas. We have continually expanded our electricity network because access to electricity is a vital catalyst for economic activities and for trade. These efforts are going hand-in-hand with our initiative to ensure reliable physical and communications networks. We have continued to maintain and upgrade our road and rail networks.
11. One of the notable infrastructure projects in recent years was the completion and opening of phase 1 of the Northern Railway Extension project at Ondangwa in July last year. This is one of the major projects undertaken by our government since independence.

12. Our Government has also initiated and implemented policies aimed at expanding the capacity of Namibians to produce more food for our people. Several projects have been established along our perennial rivers as well as inland.
13. Irrigation and aquaculture projects such as those at Etunda, Onavivi, Shadikongoro, Shitemo Vungu Vungu and other places have already started to supply consumers with locally grown fruits, vegetables and fish. The success of these projects demonstrates that with hard work and dedication, we can achieve our objectives of food security for all our people,
14. We are confident that the full implementation of our Green Scheme Initiative will enable our people to increase food production, create new employment opportunities and foster income generation to many communities.
15. Another important sector of our economy is the tourism industry, which is one of the fastest growing sectors in the world. Here in Namibia, the sector has grown noticeably since independence and its contribution to our economy is significant. In order to harness its potential, our Government has facilitated the establishment of communal conservancies so that communities can draw financial benefits from the utilization of game in the respective localities. Many conservancies have already been gazetted and others will soon become operational.
16. It is pleasing that our efforts to attract investments to different sectors of the economy have borne fruit. Over the year, we have witnessed an inflow of investments into our mining, manufacturing, telecommunications and fishing sectors.
17. Some of the more notable investments in the Namibian economy in recent years include the opening of the Scorpion Zinc Mine, the Langer Heinrich Mine, the Namibia Stone Processing Factory at Omaruru, and the launching of Power Com, Namibia's second cellular network operator.
18. We have also seen many developments in different towns across Namibia. Many new developments can be seen in the form of shopping malls, office complexes, hotels and residential property which have been built to cater for our expanding economy.
19. Our towns and cities continue to grow, both in terms of size and in their ability to provide services to their residents. This, of course is accompanied by the challenges of providing housing and employment to residents, especially those who live in informal settlements. Government is seized with these challenges and is working hard in order to find appropriate solutions.

20. Thousands of our fellow citizens paid the ultimate price by sacrificing their lives and shedding the precious blood for the freedom and independence that we enjoy today. Therefore, on this day we must remember and pay tribute to those brave sons and daughters of our soil, our heroes and heroines, whose blood waters our freedom. Because of their sacrifices, we live in a free and democratic society.
21. We must all take pride in the fact that since the attainment of our independence, our democracy has steadily grown deep and firm roots. We have held free and fair elections at regular intervals. We continue to enjoy peace and tranquillity. We have committed ourselves to democracy, unity, peace, economic development, the policy of national reconciliation and the rule of law. Therefore, I believe that we are on the right path to make Namibia a better place for all of us and for our future generations. Let us work together to achieve our common vision of stronger, peaceful, united and more prosperous Namibia.
22. With this strong belief in the bright future of Namibia, it is my honour to take this opportunity to wish you all a Happy 17th Independence Anniversary.

APPENDIX (IA 4.)

18TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY AND INAUGURATION OF THE NEW STATE HOUSE

21 MARCH 2008, WINDHOEK

1. At the very outset, I would like to kindly request you to rise, so that we can all observe a minute of silence in honour of the late Comrade John Alfons Pandeni who passed away in tragic vehicle accident on 14 March 2008. (I thank you, you may be seated).
2. Today, we celebrate the 18th Anniversary of the attainment of our nationhood. As we gather here today, we recall the heartening events of that historic day, when we hoisted our flag of freedom and sovereignty for the first time. We recall how we celebrated the lowering of apartheid flag of oppression, in the knowledge that it would never again fly as a symbol of authority over our country. The events of that historic day are still vivid in our memories. We can look back with pride at the many successes that were achieved after independence in many areas of social and economic development. We are proud, and rightly so, of the peace and stability that our country has enjoyed since that joyful day of 21 March 1990.
3. Freedom and independence has in many ways unleashed the potential of our people who have taken advantage of their liberty to make tangible contribution to the development of our country. Many of those who were denied opportunities by apartheid tyranny are today contributing meaningfully in shaping a brighter future for the Land of the Brave.
4. Our hopes for a better future are reinforced when we look at the flourishing youth, a new generation of the “born-frees”, Namibians who were born into a society free from war, victimization, intimidation, racial discrimination and oppression. These blossoming youth represent a new generation, the torch-bearers of our democratic traditions and our country's future. As we sing that our democracy is maturing, the “born-frees” will, as from this year for the first time be able to exercise their democratic right of participating in elections at different levels.
5. The peace and political stability that our country has enjoyed over the year is one of the major achievements of our country and fitting tribute to the fallen heroes and heroines of our revolution whose blood waters our freedom. In this climate of stability and peace, we have been able to implement policies and programmes aimed at improving the living conditions of our people. In the face of numerous challenges and backlogs, progress has been made in many areas of social and economic development to expand service delivery and access to public amenities.
6. Access to education has been expanded in all parts of the country. Literacy and numerous levels have increased. More Namibians have access to health care as the number of clinics, hospitals and health centres have grown. Housing projects have been

implemented in our urban centres as well as rural settlements. The National electricity grid has been extended to cater for the growth of our towns and cities. Rural electrification has changed the face of many rural communities across Namibia.

7. Moreover, physical and communication infrastructures have reached even the remote parts of the country. New roads have been built to facilitate economic activities and trade as well as to ensure safer movement of people and goods. Our railway network has been expanded by more than 300 kilometres. The rehabilitation of roads and railways has enjoyed ongoing attention of our SWAPO PARTY Government.
8. Telephone connectivity has grown with both fixed lines and cellular communications. Increasing numbers of Namibians are joining the digital age through the use of the internet and related technologies. I can, therefore, proudly say that, despite challenges. Namibians have many reasons to be proud of this occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our country's freedom and independence.
9. This year, our independence Anniversary celebration is coinciding with the inauguration of the new State House, a symbol of our nationhood and sovereignty. I wish, At this juncture, to thank His Excellency Comrade Sam Nujoma, Father of the Namibian Nation, for his vision and conceptualization of this project. This is one of the projects that were initiated during your tenure of office as President of the Republic of Namibia.
10. Your devotion to nation building and infrastructure development is admired by all patriotic citizens of our Republic. I want to assure you that the present leadership of our SWAPO PARTY Government will continue to build on the strong foundation that has already been laid under your leadership.
11. We will work tirelessly for the economic and social well-being of all Namibians. To many Namibians, you will go down in the history of our country as one of the great sons of Namibia who contributed immensely to the liberation of our motherland. For this, we say, once again, thank you very much for what you have done for the Namibian people. May God continue to bless you.
12. Few years ago, decision was taken to construct a new seat for the Namibian Presidency. The construction site was handed over to the Mansudae Overseas Projects Group from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 2002.
13. This marked the beginning of the construction of the complex. During the construction period about forty (40) local companies were engaged as sub-contractors. The sub-contractors were assigned work such as electrical installation and air conditioning among others. Plant and equipment were also hired from local suppliers and hundreds of jobs were created. Thus, local companies and workers have benefited greatly, not only in terms of financial earnings, but also with regard to valuable experiences and skills that Namibians workers gained during the construction of a project of this magnitude. I would like to take this opportunity to commend all the people who have been involved in the completion of this project for their hard-work, dedication, sharp skills and professionalism.

14. Your hard work has gone a long way in enhancing our sovereignty and nationhood. I know that a conscious decision was made that as far as possible, local construction materials and decoration should be used to give the building a truly Namibian character. As a result, local materials such as wood, granite and steel have been used extensively. Our guests will, therefore, be pleased to see how these local materials have been blended together to create an aesthetically pleasing atmosphere, incorporating many representation of our country's wild natural and cultural diversity.
15. There have been some concerns raised about the timing or even the need for this project. In this regard, I wish to say that this is a national asset which belongs to no one else but the people of Namibia. It is a project that has to be completed as part of our institution building strategy for our country.
16. For those who are not aware, the office space in the existing State House, from where Namibian President has operated since independence, is very inadequate. As a result, officials are crammed into small offices, while others are forced to share these small spaces. Surely, such a situation is not conducive for effective execution of important duties that these officials are charged with.
17. I wish to stress that as a Government, we are fully aware of what our priorities are. It is for this reason that this project was started many years after Cabinet declared top four priorities of our Government, namely, education, health, agriculture and housing. This is borne out by the forward-looking policies and budgetary allocations we have consistently made to these priority areas in order to improve service delivery, expand access so that all Namibians can enjoy the fruits of independence.
18. The completion of this project adds to the list of other capital projects that have been successfully implemented by our SWAPO PARTY Government. These include the construction of new roads in different parts of our country, the rehabilitation of roads and railway lines, the completion of Phase One of the Northern Railway Extension Project, The building of Regional and Constituency Offices across Namibia, the expansion of water pipelines, the building of new schools and clinics and many other projects. The list is endless.
19. We will continue to implement projects and programmes to facilitate economic growth and improve the living condition of our people. This year, the construction of Rundu-Erundu Road, via Nkurenkuru will start. This will lead to the construction of a tarred road of more than 300 kilometres. This road will enable safer movement of people and goods in that part of our country. It will promote trade and commerce, thereby enabling our people who engaged in income generation projects to reach markets.
20. As we celebrate this joyful occasion of our 18th Independence Anniversary, our thoughts are with the thousands of our compatriots who have been displaced by the floods in the north and north east of our country. The flood has divested many communities and destroyed valuable properties and assets. The livelihoods and source of income of many

people have been destroyed. Our Government is monitoring the flood situation closely and continuously.

21. We have already started to implement rescue operation to take the affected people to safety and provide them with food, medicines and water purification tablets. The impact of the flood is going to be devastating for our country, especially in terms of the destruction of infrastructures such as houses, schools, clinics, businesses and roads. A few weeks ago, I declared the flood situation in our country a national disaster. We are going to work tirelessly to ameliorate the impact of the floods.
22. It is important that we work with resolve and dedication so that our people can rebuild their lives after the floods. At this juncture, I would like to express sincere thanks to the Namibian business community, NGOs, individual citizen and our development cooperation partners for the financial and material assistance that they have rendered to this flood victims.
23. Namibia is honoured to receive and host His Excellency Comrade Kim Yong Nam, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, during this auspicious occasion of our 18th Independence Anniversary and the Inauguration of the New State House. Your presence here, Your Excellency, is a re-affirmation of the strong bonds of friendship and co-operation that so happily exist between our two countries and peoples. These bonds have stood the test of time as they date back to the years of Namibia's struggle for national liberation and independence under the leadership of SWAPO.
24. Your country provided the Namibian people with valuable political and material support that enabled us to wage a successful struggle and to dislodge the apartheid colonial machinery from our country. Co-operation between our two countries has been growing over the years and one aspect of this has been the participation of Korean citizens in the construction of this building. I feel it is fitting and we are honoured indeed that you could join us on this occasion.
25. I am happy and proud that, this new State House, the people's house, has been completed. It will provide the staff members of the Office of the President with improved working facilities. This will enable the Office of the President to carry out its work and its mandate more effectively in line with our national development plan and Vision 2030. The new facilities will indeed provide an appropriate environment as the Office strives for excellence in service delivered and effectiveness. This inauguration paves the way for the relocation of staff members to the new building in the coming weeks and months.
26. I wish to take this opportunity to commend all the people who were involved in this project for a job well-done. The high Level Technical Committee, architects, the artisans, the contractors, the sub-contractors and others who have worked here for the past few years. We thank you wholehearted for your toil and your sweat. You have built the people's house that stands as a symbol of the tenacity of the people of Namibia.

27. Civil servants, who will within these walls should, at all times, serve the interest of the Namibian people. They should pursue national development agenda in all their official actions. This State house was built to facilitate and enable the Office of the President to accomplish its mandate. The people of Namibia expect the Office of the President, the highest office in the land, to lead by example, to be the epitome of efficiency and effectiveness in-service delivery. I trust that with this new facility, the office of the President will live up to that noble expectation.
28. I call upon all Namibian citizens to continue to maintain and promote peace, security and stability. We should cherish and continue to promote the policy of National Reconciliation. We should continue to promote national unity and shun the vices of tribalism, regionalism, ethnicity, racial discrimination, sexism and corruption. We should continue to pay tribute to our fallen heroes and heroines whose blood waters our freedom. Let us keep Namibia a winning nation among the community of nations. On this occasion of our 18th Independence Anniversary and in the presence of all those who come to witness this historic occasion, it is my distinct honour and privilege to declare, the people's house, the new State House of the Republic of Namibia, officially open, and to wish all our citizens a Happy 18th Independence Anniversary.

APPENDIX (IA 5.)

CELEBRATION OF THE 19th INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY 21 MARCH 2009, KEETMANSHOOP

1. It is a great honour for me to address the Nation on this auspicious occasion of the celebration of Namibia's 19th Independence Anniversary. Today is a day of pride for every Namibian and friend of Namibia. It is a day that signifies and bears testimony to the bravery and perseverance of the Namibian people.
2. This is a day that reminds us of the birth of our nation after many years of oppression. On that historic day of 21st March 1990, the chains of bondage were broken and Namibia joined the free nations of the world as a free and independent Republic. A republic that will never be subjugated again.
3. Today, we pause and reflect on the achievements we have recorded to date, and the opportunities that lie ahead. We also pause to reflect on the challenges facing our nation and how these challenges could be overcome as we chart a new direction towards a future filled with hope. Namibia's post-independence history has witnessed the consolidation of peace, progress and stability. In particular, the farsighted adoption of the Policy of National Reconciliation and the commitment of the Namibian people to socio economic development and nation building have laid a foundation for a brighter future for our people.
4. The freedom and independence that we enjoyed today was not given to us on a silver platter. It was brought about by the sacrifices, bravery and gallantry of the sons and daughters of soil who stood firm to fight against colonialism and apartheid oppression. We owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to our heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives and shed their precious blood so that, we, the people of Namibia in the Land of the brave can live in peace and freedom. However, let me say this. A people who do not know where they come from, will not know where they are going and they are doomed to perish.
5. In this context, the history of Namibia, from the anti-colonial resistance to the modern armed liberation struggle is important in shaping the future trajectory of our country.
6. Our young people must learn and master this history, from the battle field exploits of Hendrik Witbooi to the battlefield ingenuity of Samuel Maharero; From the patriotism of Kahimemwa Nguvauva to the bravery of Mandume ya Ndemufayo; from the uncompromising posture of Iipumbu ya Tshilongo to the guerilla tested Jacob Marengo; from the victorious Nehale lyaMpingana to the unwavering spirit of Sam Nujoma; from the dedication of Tobias Hainyeko and Dimo Hamambo to the vision of Peter Nanyemba and battle testedness of Greenwell Matongo. You must learn and master this history.

7. This is the foundation upon which we can build a stronger and more prosperous Namibia. It is the mountain top upon, which we stand in order to see clearly far from the horizon.
8. We must, all of us, as Namibians stand together on the shoulders of the giants of our history and join hands to build a better Namibia. A country which Namibians from all background can call their own. After all, our heroes and heroines who made us what we are today, a free, proud and independent nation. Our citizens can walk tall and proudly pronounce themselves as Namibians, thanks to these heroes and heroines whose blood waters our freedom. The war of liberation pitted brother against brother, sister against sister and neighbour against neighbour. Racial divisions and discrimination were accentuated. However, we have transcended that difficult past in our history and are now united to reach for the common goal and common vision to make Namibia the best that she can be. In the supreme law of the land, we made provision for the Policy of National Reconciliation so that we can restore peace, tolerance and mutual understanding among our people who were harassed and brutalized by the occupations forces of apartheid colonialism.
9. After freedom was won, we committed to accelerating socio-economic development and to the improvement of the living standards of all our people. I am happy to state confidently that notable progress has been made in this regard. Today, Namibia is at peace with herself and her neighbours. Our people are free to pursue the attainment of their full potential. We have built strong institution of governance through which national development policies are being implemented.
10. Since independence, a major development project has been implemented across the length and breadth of our country. We can proudly say that the majority of our people now have access to the basic amenities such as food, shelter, water, safety, security and human dignity. We have built schools, hospitals. Clinics, roads, railways and other infrastructure across the country. Potable water and electricity are now available to thousands of our citizens and rural electrification has changed the rural landscape. Programmes such as the 3rd National Development Plans are giving practical effect to our long-term objectives as set out in Vision 2030.
11. For instance, consistence with NDP3 and Vision 2030, our SWAPO PARTY Government has committed itself to ensure and bring about:
 - (i) a competitive economy;
 - (ii) productive utilization of natural resources and environmental sustainability;
 - (iii) productive and competitive human resources and institution;
 - (iv) improved quality of life;
 - (v) a knowledge based and technology driven nation;
 - (vi) equality and social welfare
 - (vii) peace, security and political stability; and

(viii) regional and international stability and integration.

12. We have placed particular focus on the provision of education, health, water, housing, infrastructure development and rural development. In specific terms, health services are now available to the majority of Namibians across the country. We are actively combating the spread of HIV/AIDS through awareness campaigns, the distribution of anti-retroviral drugs and counselling for those infected and affected by the pandemic.
13. Progress has also been made in the education sector, resulting in higher levels. As results, Namibia is on course, and in some areas we have exceeded the targets set out in the Millennium Development Goals. We should be proud of these achievements. In the areas of physical infrastructure and telecommunications, our roads, rail networks, power lines, and telecommunications networks rank among the best on the continent. We must be proud of these achievements.
14. We have developed policies to attract foreign direct investments in order to create employment and grow the economy. As a result, major investments have been made in the mining, fisheries, power distribution retail and other sectors.
15. We have also put in place a broad anti-poverty strategy to combat poverty and create social safety nets for our citizens. A comprehensive national ant poverty policy was adopted to combat the causes as well as the effects of poverty. The monthly social grant provided t senior citizens, veterans of the liberation struggle, people with disabilities, as well as to orphans and vulnerable children are just one example of the anti-poverty measures adopted by our SWAPO PARTY Government. Fellow Namibians
16. The developed policies and programmes being implemented by our SWAPO PARTY Government have reached every corner of Namibia, including here in the Karas region where the main celebration for the 19th Independence Anniversary are being hosted.
17. The Karas region is home to some of the vital economic industries in our country such as diamonds, zinc mining, karakul and ostrich farming, tourism, agriculture, fishing, as well as, natural wonders such as the Fish River Canyon and the Brukaros Mountain.
18. Our SWAPO PARTY Government recognises that agriculture and mining constitute the economic mainstays in the Region and facilitates the development of these sectors. It provided funds and support for the development of a grape industry along the Orange River with the required public infrastructure to sustain this industry.
19. Today, our grapes complete favourably in international markets. This sub sector alone provides employment opportunities to approximately 20 000 people during the harvest season and close to 6 000 on a permanent basis. Our government has also built and

renovated health, education and other public facilities in various constituencies in the region.

20. We have made headway with the building of constituency offices and have successfully completed this undertaking in the region. In this regard, the Karas region is one of those Regions in our country where every constituency has a constituency office.
21. We recognize the importance of roads and other infrastructure in this vast region. As such, the maintenance and upgrading of our roads and railway lines have received the attention of our government, including the extension of the Luderitz Aus Rail way line. Luderitz is emerging as an important residential and business centre. The harbour has been dredge and the water front Development project is progressing in all earnest.
22. The Karas region is an important frontier with our southern neighbour, South Africa, which is a major source of tourist for Namibia. Our government has, therefore, strengthened cooperation between the two countries in the sector of tourism. The opening of the Mata-Mata Border Post is a welcome step in facilitating travel and tourism between Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. South Africa and Namibia also entered into an agreement that Ai Ais Richersveld Trans frontier Park. We also welcome the recent opening of the Sperrgebiet Natural Reserve, which will further extend tourism opportunities within the Transfrontier Park concept.
23. Like other regions of our country, the Karas region faces many challenges including unemployment; the HIV/AIDS pandemic; alcohol and drug abuse, as well as crime. Most of these challenges can be addressed through job creation and income generating projects, while the private sector is encouraged to invest in viable ventures to create jobs and contribute to economic growth.
24. In this context, our government is leaving no stone unturned to facilitate the creation of job opportunities for our citizens. Yesterday morning, I inaugurated the Southern Regional Campus of the Namibian Institute of Mining and Technology. This institution will empower our people providing them with vocational skills through vocational training. This will enable them t obtain employment or to employ themselves.
25. We must work hard to create opportunities that will take our people out of helpless and despair. Our country has received above average rainfall this year. As a result, all dams and reservoirs are full. Many areas in north and north-eastern Namibia have been flooded. I recently toured some of the devastated areas to assess the levels of destruction caused by the flood.

26. Properties have been washed away, businesses have ceased their operations and some schools, clinics, other government facilities and services are suspended on account of flooding. We all know of the risks of flooding in southern Namibia. Hence, the water level at the Hardap Dam is being monitored around the clock to avoid flooding along the fish River. As a result, on Tuesday, 17 March 2009, I declared the north and northeastern parts of our country as disaster areas. In this regard, our government will treat the affected areas as a requiring emergency assistance.
27. I am confident that we will, as a country, overcome the challenges that we face and rebuild our economy and our infrastructures. Our government will work around the clock to restore services in the affected areas. Namibia has been negatively affected by the world economic crisis. A considerable number of our citizen have lost their jobs as some businesses scaled down operations or closed down altogether.
28. The mining sector is the most affected. The reduction of mining operation has reduced government revenues generated through taxes and royalties. This will have implications for social and economic development programmes and projects in the country. As a nation, we must find ways and means of dealing with these crises. We must stand together and assist each other during this difficult period.
29. Today is Independence Day. It is an occasion for every one of us to renew his or her resolve to make a positive contribution of our country. We must work to overcome obstacles and to achieve our full potential.
30. We should move away from alcohol and drug abuse. Apart from being our National Day, today is also an important day for the born-free, those fortunate Namibians who were born in the post-independence dispensation. I urge those who have attained a voting age to register in order to be able to vote and elect leaders and political part of their choice. It is through the ballot box that we can determine the future destiny of our country.
31. On this occasion of our 19th Independence anniversary, our SWAPO Party Government renews its commitment to the development of our beloved country and the creation of opportunities for everyone to participate in all socio-economic opportunities for our people.
32. We will continue to promote effective participation of our people in joint ventures and other activities in our economy. In this regard, special emphasis will be put on previously disadvantaged Namibians. We will emphasize value addition to our natural resources in order to increase their benefit for our people and to enable Namibia to participate meaningfully in regional and international trade. We will continue to address the socio-economic welfare of our senior citizens, workers, youth, peasants, orphans and

vulnerable children, women, war veterans, people with disabilities and indeed all our citizens.

33. It is our resolve to ensure that Namibia is able to feed herself with locally produced food. Towards this end, an ambitious plan, the Green Scheme, was adopted to transform the lands along our perennial rivers into the food basket for our nation. The implementation of this scheme has started and the Namibian people will reap the benefits sooner rather than later. Peace, security, stability and national unity are essential for the continued development of our country. Many of our fallen heroes and heroines have sacrificed their lives for us to live in peace and a secure environment. I therefore, call upon all of us to continue to maintain peace, security and stability in the country.
34. We must cherish and continue to promote reconciliation and national unity. We must shun the vices of tribalism, regionalism, nepotism, ethnicity, racial discrimination, sexism, and corruption. We must cherish the sacrifices of our brother and sisters and make Namibia a winning nation.